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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1915–1916

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XVIII

TRANSACTIONS

1913–1916

Printed at the Merrymount Press

BOSTON

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1917

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XVIII

TRANSACTIONS

1915–1916

Printed at the Charge of the Edward Wheelwright Fund

BOSTON

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1917

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University Press:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

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PREFACE

VOLUME XVIII, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at ten meetings, from January, 1915, to April, 1916, both included, in continuation of Volume XVII.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Mr. Ambrose Cramer, the American Antiquarian Society, the British Museum, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the Yale University Library.

For the Committee of Publication;

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 August, 1916

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[1] Mr. Gay died in office, 3 March, 1916

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George Emery Littlefield, A.B.	4 September	1915
Ezra Ripley Thayer, LL.D.	14 September	1915
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Hon. Horace Davis, LL.D.	13 July	1916

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TRANSACTIONS

1915–1916

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

JANUARY MEETING, 1915

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 January, 1915, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. FRANCIS RUSSELL HART accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. JOHN TROWBRIDGE read the following paper:

FRANKLIN AS A SCIENTIST

Many years ago I was asked to write a life of Franklin for the American Statesmen series and I declined, knowing my unfitness to weigh and present his achievements in statesmanship, and feeling also that whatever acquaintance I had with his scientific work would not be available in a discussion of his political career. Naturally, since that literary offer was made to me, I have been much interested in the efforts of biographers to present the man; and to discover whether they thought that his scientific reputation had any influence on his prestige in Paris. I may say here, that it was fortunate that I did not write a scientific life of Franklin, even thirty years ago; for it is only within ten years, as I shall endeavor to show,

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that he has come into his own and that the value of his scientific work has been fully recognized.

The life of Franklin in the Statesmen series was written by Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., and contains no reference to his scientific reputation. The work entitled Franklin in France, written by the Rev. Edward E. Hale and his son, has but one reference to science — a reference to a paper presented by Franklin to the Royal Academy of Sciences on the Aurora Borealis. One would have supposed that Dr. Hale would have referred to the immense reputation which the kite experiment must have given Franklin, especially when he was introduced to the most intellectual society in Europe by Turgot, the great minister of finance, with the celebrated phrase, "Eripuit fulmen cœlo, mox sceptra Tyrannis." ("He snatched lightning from the sky and sceptres from tyrants.") Dr. Hale, moreover, in quoting Condorcet's Éloge of Franklin, delivered before the French Academy at the séance of November 13, 1790, omits the portion which relates to science. Recently I found in the library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences a copy of this Éloge, presented by Létombe, the French consul of that time. It contains on the cover in letters of gold the words American Academy of Arts and Sciences. It was printed in 1791.[1]

Condorcet, in his Éloge, congratulates France, with that clearness and felicity of style for which the French are celebrated, in recognizing the scientific work of Franklin before England, and he attributes England's tardiness not to the hostility engendered by the war with her colony, but to a reluctance to believe that a puritan rustic could have discovered what had escaped the attention of their philosophers.[2] This Éloge of Franklin is contained in the complete

[1] The title reads:

Éloge de M. Franklin, Lu à la séance publique de l'Académie des Sciences, le 13 Nov. 1790. Eripuit cœlo fulmen, mox sceptra Tyrannis. Turgot, 1775. A Paris, . . . 1791.

At a meeting of the American Academy held February 29, 1792, the gift of the Éloge from the "Consul of France" was acknowledged, and elsewhere in the Academy's records it is stated to have been given by "M. De La Tombe." The donation was also noted in the Columbian Centinel of March 3, 1792, p. 3/2.

[2] Franklin was made a member of the Society of Arts in 1755 and of the Royal Society in 1756; in 1759 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of St. Andrews, and by the corporation of Edinburgh was given the freedom of that city; in 1762 he received the degree of D.C.L. from the Uni-

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edition of Condorcet's works, but even there there is no reference to Turgot's celebrated epigram.[1] In the copy of the Éloge which I show you, the epigram is published on the title-page, where it reads as given above. It is often rendered "Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque Tyrannis." It may be that the phrase was suggested to Turgot by the "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen viresque tonandi" of Manilius, a poet of the time of the Emperor Tiberius.[2]

Condorcet congratulates the French Academy that the National Assembly was presided over by L'Abbé Sieyès, a man who was such a friend of liberty. You will remember that Sieyès wrote the celebrated paper on the Third Estate which led to the epigram, "Mirabeau was the voice of the French Revolution and Sieyès the soul." He it was who answered where he had been or what he had done in the time of terror, "I have lived." It would be interesting to trace the influence in constitution-making, if any, exerted upon him by Franklin's work in connection with the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and the Federal Constitution of 1787. But I am straying from science like a historian I shall mention presently who strayed from history.

---

versity of Oxford, his son William at the same time obtaining the degree of A.M.; and long before the outbreak of the Revolution he was in correspondence with the most distinguished scholars of England and Scotland. Clearly, therefore, Condorcet was under a misapprehension in supposing that there was any tardiness on the part of England in recognizing Franklin's scientific work.

[1] The epigram is, however, mentioned in Condorcet's "Vie de M. Turgot, publiée en 1786," where it appears in the same form as on the title-page of the Éloge de M. Franklin. (Œuvres de Condorcet publiées par A. Condorcet O'Connor, Paris, 1847, v. 162.)

[2] In Turgot's Œuvres, Paris, 1810, ix. 140, the epigram appears in the form "Eripuit Cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque Tyrannis." The date 1775, assigned to the epigram on the title-page of Condorcet's Éloge de M. Franklin, is doubtless incorrect, for Franklin did not reach Paris until December 21, 1776, and the earliest known allusion to the epigram is under date of April, 1778, where it reads as in Turgot's Œuvres. For a full and interesting discussion of the epigram, see Charles Sumner's "Monograph from an old Note-Book; with a Postscript. 'Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis,'" in the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1863, xii. 648–662. It should be pointed out, however, that in a letter to Horace Walpole dated March 1, 1777, Madame du Deffand (Lettres de la Marquise du Deffand à Horace Walpole, 1912, iii. 308) says, "Voilà des vers pour mettre au bas de l'estampe de M. Franklin"—and then quotes four lines of which the first is identical with the first line of the verses in French written by Turgot (Œuvres, ix. 140). Possibly the original verses were in French and afterwards given a Latin form.

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In Bigelow's Life of Franklin there is no reference to Turgot's epigram or to Condorcet's Éloge. The only reference to Franklin's science is in regard to a trivial controversy that had been raised among the philosophers in England respecting pointed and blunt lightning conductors. Mr. Wilson was the champion for blunt conductors, in opposition to the theory of Dr. Franklin. Pointed conductors had been erected at the Queen's palace, but by the advice of Mr. Wilson they were taken down, and blunt ones substituted in their place. Dr. Ingenhousz, who was then in England, took up the subject with considerable warmth against Mr. Wilson, and wrote to a gentleman in Paris a letter which he desired might be shown to Dr. Franklin. Franklin answered as follows, October 14, 1777:

I am much obliged by your communication of the letter from England. I am of your opinion, that it is not proper for publication here. Our friend's expressions concerning Mr. Wilson will be thought too angry to be made use of by one philosopher when speaking of another, and on a philosophical question. He seems as much heated about this *one point* as the Jansenists and Molinists were about the *five*. As to my writing any thing on the subject, which you seem to desire, I think it not necessary, especially as I have nothing to add to what I have already said upon it in a paper read to the committee who ordered the conductors at Purfleet, which paper is printed in the last French edition of my writings.

I have never entered into any controversy in defence of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are *right*, truth and experience will support them; if *wrong*, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made, nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them. The king's changing his *pointed* conductors for *blunt* ones is, therefore, of small importance to me. If I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and his family safe from the thunder of Heaven that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects.[1]

The discussion was waged in the Royal Society and King George took part in it outside this learned body. Lord Glenbervie says

[1] Works (ed. Bigelow), vi. 111–112.

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that Windham repeated the following lines to him when they were together in Paris, in 1788:

> While you great G. for knowledge hunt,
> And sharp conductors turn to blunt,
> Your kingdom's out of joint.
> Franklin another course pursues,
> Unmoved, he all your lightn'ngs views,
> By sticking to his point.[1]

Bigelow's work contains one other reference to Franklin's scientific philosophy in a detailed account of his connection with a committee formed to inquire into the claims of Mesmer to perform cures by means of magnetism. Franklin was the electrician on the committee and it was probably due to him that the same conclusion was reached that the pretended cures were probably due to imagination. If he did not frame conclusions he joined with the committee in enunciating a psychological truth which is true to-day in regard to the effect of the mind on the body and the proneness of mankind, even the more educated, to believe in the occult. Bigelow says in regard to the conclusions of this committee:

> Mesmer's theory was supplanted by the discovery in the following year, 1785, of magnetic somnambulism with insensibility to pain and clairvoyance, by one of his pupils, the Marquis De Puységur. This really great discovery gave an importance to mesmerism which has rescued its author's name, in some measure, from the contempt to which the hostile report of such a board must have consigned it.[2]

On seeing this, I congratulated myself that I had not presumed to write a book on Franklin's statesmanship; for I saw how a historian can err if he enters the scientific field. Lafayette wrote to Washington of the wonders of mesmerism and Washington, in a letter[3] to Mesmer himself, replied, with the caution which he had in common with Franklin, that he was glad that there was a promise of the world being benefited. A study of Franklin's scientific habit of mind toward the fallacies of his time shows the clearness of his intellect, and this clearness, due I believe to his scientific genius, was

[1] Glenbervie Journals (1910), p. 95.
[2] Bigelow, Life of Franklin, iii. 259 note.
[3] Washington's Writings (ed. Sparks), ix. 72.

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an important factor in his diplomatic achievements. One of his colleagues in Paris said of him, "He observes much; and says little." In this did he not exhibit the highest attribute of the scientific mind applied to diplomacy? I may say in passing that the committee did not kill mesmerism. It was renewed by a Baron Reichenbach eighty years later under the title of dynamics of magnetism or the Odic force, and it still has some vigor among the superstitious.

The fullest account of Franklin's scientific labors can be found in Sparks's Works of Benjamin Franklin, with Notes and a Life of the Author, in ten volumes. This work is a compilation and does not pretend to give an analysis of the importance of his work in science. Paul Leicester Ford's work entitled The Many-sided Franklin gives the best popular account of his scientific labors I have seen. Even in essays by scientific men on these labors, there is a lack of fulness and a failure to state what is really great and enduring in these labors, and there is a need at the present time for a work which will show their bearing upon subsequent scientific progress.

I have said it was fortunate that I did not write a life of Franklin thirty years ago, for it is only within a few years that even scientific men have had a clear conception of the value of his contribution to science. I think I can make his present standing clear by contrasting what it was in this community one hundred and fifty years ago among the common people and Harvard College, and what it is now among the people at large and Harvard University.

I suppose that if I should ask each gentleman present what was Benjamin Franklin's great achievement in electricity the answer would be, "He drew lightning from the sky, and invented the lightning rod." If this, however, were a scientific audience, the kite experiment might be minimized by saying that it was merely a brilliant tour de force; that perhaps he did not really draw lightning from the sky and that what he obtained was only what we get in almost every thunder storm — throbs and sparks on telephone wires and other conductors — that is, effects of induction. Franklin erected an aerial and received a wireless message from a roving lightning flash. Was it not fortunate for his subsequent career that he really did not draw lightning from heaven? The answer to this scientific doubt is that he might have done so. It has taken eighty years fully to explain his great experiment. What possibilities it contained!

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facts of induction which have led to the dynamo, the telephone, and the wireless telegraph.

There is no doubt that he might have drawn down a lightning discharge and his lightning rod can also be effective. The doubts of scientific men as to his conclusions in regard to the kite experiment have been greatly exceeded by the doubts of the multitude in regard to the efficacy of his lightning rods. I am inclined to think that the comparative infrequency of damage by lightning and the cost of putting them on buildings has much to do with the doubt of their efficacy by the multitude. Boston and Cambridge, influenced I suppose by the adherence of Professor Winthrop to Franklin's ideas, were said to have largely protected their buildings in 1755. The earthquake of that year called forth the following warning by the Rev. Thomas Prince:

> The more *Points* of *Iron* are erected round the *Earth*, to draw the *Electrical Substance* out of the *Air*; the more the *Earth* must needs be charged with it. And therefore it seems worthy of Consideration, Whether *any Part* of the *Earth* being fuller of *this terrible Substance*, may not be more exposed to *more Shocking Earthquakes*. In *Boston* are more erected than anywhere else in *New England*; and *Boston* seems to be more dreadfully shaken. O! there is no getting out of the mighty Hand of God! If we think to avoid it in the *Air*, we cannot in the *Earth*: Yea it may grow more fatal.[1]

In these remarks we discern, I think, an opposition to Franklin's freedom of opinion on religious matters which made many puritans fear that they might suffer from bombs from heaven directed against him and his arts. He, however, as we have seen, was supported by Harvard College, which gave him the degree of Master of Arts. I find that he had many admirers outside of academic circles; for his abundant common sense appealed to the common people. This ad-

[1] In 1727 two editions appeared of Prince's "Earthquakes the Works of God & Tokens of his just Displeasure. Two Sermons On Psal. xviii. 7. At the Particular Fast in Boston, Nov. 2. and the General Thanksgiving, Nov. 9." In 1755 Prince published "Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of His just Displeasure." This was Sermon I of the 1727 edition, with an "Appendix Concerning the Operation of God in Earthquakes by Means of the Electrical Substance," dated "BOSTON, Dec. 5. 1755." The passage quoted in the text is from this Appendix. A controversy between Prince and Winthrop took place in the newspapers in 1755.

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miration is expressed in the following poem which was given to me by a distinguished judge who is interested in the reception of Franklin's ideas by our forefathers:

Dear Doctor let it not transpire
How much your learning we admire,
How at your eloquence we wonder
When you explain the cause of thunder,
Of lightning and electricity,
With so much plainness and simplicity.

The common people, hereabout, took to the lightning rods a hundred years ago; and the lightning rod promoter was a feature of the times, much as the patent medicine vendor or the platform agitator is a feature of our time. The scientific men of the time were not behind in belief. John Winthrop, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard College, wrote as follows, January 6, 1768:

I have read in the Philosophical Transactions the account of the effects of lightning on St. Bride's steeple. It is amazing to me, that, after the full demonstration you had given, of the identity of lightning and of electricity, and the power of mettaline conductors, they should ever think of repairing that steeple without conductors. How astonishing is the force of prejudice, even in an age of so much knowledge and enquiry![1]

When I was studying in Cambridge, forty years ago, many of the college buildings had lightning rods, which were laid on the bricks without insulation and without precautions in regard to proper earths. The dryness of the College Yard has always existed. None of the new buildings of the University are now protected by lightning rods except the Jefferson Physical Laboratory. I dwell here briefly upon the method of utilizing Franklin's idea, in the protection of this building, so as to make it effectual. There are rods upon each chimney which are connected with a conductor which runs around the eaves; this conductor is connected at the four corners of the roof with conductors which descend to a conductor running entirely around the building underground in moist earth: thus the building is in a skeleton cage. The idea is taken from Faraday, who

[1] Franklin's Works (ed. Sparks), v. 419.

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showed that a person in a metallic cage is entirely unaffected by any outside electrical disturbance. The arrangement of protection of the laboratory was the nearest possible to Faraday's idea.

There is doubt, however, if even the cage method is entirely effective; for recently a powder magazine in Germany, protected in this manner, was struck by lightning and the bolt passed into a large metallic mass contained in the cage. The cage evidently must not contain a large collection of metal. Franklin and Faraday even, had no conception of the immense energy developed in a lightning flash, or of the immense energy that could be developed by electricity in harness. What a fairy tale an account of lighting of cities and the transmission of thousands of horse power in the future would have seemed to Franklin!

I was interested to discover what Winthrop had to say in his lectures in regard to Franklin's work and I looked through the notebook of his lectures, contained in the University Library. There was only one lecture recorded on electricity. In it was stated that it was possible to transmit an electrical effect over a wire one hundred feet long.

For many years Franklin's experiments in electricity have been greatly overshadowed by the remarkable advance in the subject which was such a favorite object of inquiry with him. The disappearance of the lightning-rod man seemed to be a characterization in the public mind of what was also in the mind of scientific men. Yet Franklin is now more than ever coming into his own. A distinguished Englishman of science said to me recently, "Are you familiar with Franklin's account of his experiments? There is a mine of wealth there." This remark led me to weigh these experiments in the light of our present knowledge, and I discovered what the Englishman had in mind; and what has not been dwelt upon, I believe, by any biographer.

The literary biographer and the historian can still, probably, find new material which may throw light upon the great man's personality and his constructive work in statesmanship. But there will always be a lack of finality in the conclusions reached by such biographers and historians; for they are dealing with a somewhat puzzling and many-sided man; and he made enemies as well as friends. It is refreshing to turn from an account of his entangled

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political relations to a consideration of his scientific work. Here there is a clarity of statement which leaves no ground for controversy. His constantly expressed desire to leave diplomatic life and devote his time to experiment shows, I think, his philosophical reflection upon the transitory and changing nature of human affairs and the permanence of scientific truth.

Sir Humphry Davy once said of Franklin that he possessed a remarkable power of inductive reasoning, and a study of his scientific work in the light of modern advances confirms this opinion in an interesting way which I have not found dwelt upon by any of his scientific biographers. I do not know of any scientific man in any country of whom it can be said that his experiments and reflections embodied so much that it has taken more than a hundred years and the study of thousands of scholars to verify and reach his conclusions. In his one fluid theory of electricity he anticipated much of the modern theory of electrons. He supposed a deficit and an excess of electricity which he called the negative and positive state. In the electron theory, the negative electron detached from a collection of positive particles causes the effects which Franklin attributed to excess and deficit. The one fluid theory closely approaches Faraday's supposition of the electrotonic state in the ether which surrounds us everywhere. His fluid was insensible while in equilibrium but manifested itself when this was disturbed, and when it reëstablished itself. We have arrived at this supposition to-day.

In a manner related to his one fluid hypothesis, is a remarkable statement, in a letter to Cadwallader Colden dated April 23, 1752, of his views in regard to the propagation of light:

> I thank you for communicating the illustration of the theorem of light. It is very curious. But I must own I am much in the *dark* about *light*. I am not satisfied with the doctrine that supposes particles of matter, called light, continually driven off from the sun's surface, with a swiftness so prodigious! Must not the smallest particle conceivable have, with such a motion, a force exceeding that of a twenty-four pounder discharged from a cannon? Must not the sun diminish exceedingly by such a waste of matter; and the planets, instead of drawing nearer to him, as some have feared, recede to greater distances through the lessened attraction? Yet these particles, with this amazing motion, will

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not drive before them, or remove the least and lightest dust they meet with. And the sun, for aught we know, continues of his ancient dimensions, and his attendants move in their ancient orbits.

May not all the phenomena of light be more conveniently solved, by supposing universal space filled with a subtile elastic fluid, which, when at rest, is not visible, but whose vibrations affect that fine sense in the eye, as those of air do the grosser organs of the ear? We do not, in the case of sound, imagine that any sonorous particles are thrown from a bell, for instance, and fly in straight lines to the ear; why should we believe that luminous particles leave the sun and proceed to the eye? . . . May not different degrees of the vibration of the above-mentioned universal medium occasion the appearances of different colors?[1]

This was in opposition to the corpuscular theory of light held by no less a master mind than Sir Isaac Newton. Franklin's views are in complete agreement with our present theory of light and heat: and taken in connection with his one fluid theory of electricity do not materially differ from Maxwell's electrodynamic theory which supposes that light and heat waves are electrical phenomena.

In a paper on the Aurora Borealis, Franklin asks:

May not air, suddenly rarified, give electrical fire to, and air, suddenly condensed, receive electrical fire from, clouds and vapours passing through it?

Is not the *aurora borealis* the flashing of electrical fire from positive towards negative clouds, at a great distance, through the upper part of the atmosphere, where the resistance is least?[2]

This is the main conclusion to-day, and he arrived at it without the complicated apparatus we now use in studying the analogous discharges of electricity through rarified gases.

I think we see that Franklin had clearer views on the greatest of nature's agencies than any of his contemporaries, and that scientific men after more than one hundred and fifty years are recognizing truths expressed in his scientific work. This scientific work was given to the world largely in letters to his friends.

The Éloge read in the French Academy contains the remark that Franklin was entirely uneducated in science and obtained his re-

[1] Works (ed. Bigelow), ii. 253–254, 255.

[2] Works (ed. Sparks), v. 337.

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sults by the force of his genius. We find in his letters a constant desire to leave the contentions of political life in order to engage in the peaceful pursuit of science. It can be said of him that he gave to his country what was meant for science.

The position of Franklin among the greatest men in the history of electricity, in the estimation of scholars, is as follows: Franklin, Cavendish, Faraday, Maxwell.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE made the following communication:

The ceremonies incident to Pope Night have already been treated in our Publications by Mr. Matthews [1] and Mr. H. W. Cunningham.[2] The library of Harvard College has recently acquired an eight-page tract of 1678 which gives an account of these performances in that momentous year.[3] The narrative [4] is lively, and short enough to be reprinted in full. The peculiar elaboration of the celebration of Guy Fawkes Night which it records was due to the recent utterances of Titus Oates, the murder of Godfrey, and the consequent feeling of panic among the people.

The manner of the burning the Pope *in Effigies in* London, *on the* 5th *of* November, 1678.

IT is a singular Prerogative attributed particularly to our Nation, and seems undissolvably intail'd on our Clime, that our Children, even whilst so young that they can hardly ask for the necessaries of Life, do yet in their sports and deportments divulge as particular a liking to Generosity and Virtue, as they demonstrate an

[1] Publications, viii. 90–92, 104.

[2] Publications, xii. 288–294. The following references may be added to those furnished by Mr. Matthews and Mr. Cunningham: William Douglass, Summary, Boston, 1749, i. 239 n; Sir Walter Scott's note in his edition of Dryden, vi. 222 ff; Saintsbury's Dryden, vi. 237; Addison, Spectator, No. 269, January 8, 1712, with C. N. Greenough's note, Selections from the Writings of Joseph Addison, ed. by Wendell and Greenough, Boston, [1905,] (Athenæum Press Series), p. 325; Brand, Popular Antiquities, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, i. 221.

[3] The manner of the Burning the Pope in Effigies in London On the 5*th* of *November*, 1678. With The manner of carrying him through several Streets, in progression to *Temple-Bar*, where at length he was decently burned. Also A Particular of several Bloody Massacres done by the *Papists* upon the Bodies of *English*, *Irish*, and *French* Protestants. With Allowance. *London*, Printed for *D. M.* 1678.

[4] Pp. 3–6. The pagination of the original is given within square brackets.

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irreconcileable Odium to Treachery and Deceit, which are their Contraries.

This is most apparent by their earnest Celebration of this *5th day of November*; a day, which the oldest of us all indeed ought not to remember without sending up Vollies of Congratulations to Heaven, from whence we undeservedly receiv'd so extraordinary, and miraculous a deliverance, from that *Hellish Gunpowder-Plot* contriv'd in the year 1605 and levelled not only at the dissolution of our *King* and *Peers*, but at the total subversion of *Religion*, and the ruine and destruction of the whole Land.

[4] In that Age wherein this Conspiracy was contrived, and designed to have been effected, it was lookt on as so monstrously impudent, that it would admit of no parallel; All the Treacheries of *Europe* compounded would not come near it; nor all the Inhumanity of the *Turks* and *Pagans* give it but a faint resemblance, so that 'tis no wonder if the very remembrance of it did sharpen the Mother's Milk, and their Children sucking it in with their sustenance, became instinctively irritated at theirs and their Parents intended Murder.

But that danger being over, who could expect the unwelcome repetition of any thing of the same nature by the same Party: But alas, it is little wonder to see such bad Practices from those, who by principle reckon upon't as meritorious to undertake them.

Why should not even our Youth then espouse a noble Indignation at the injustice, and by their resentments on the Effigy, divulge a deserved contempt of the Original.

Which to effect, on this present Fifth Day of *November*, they caused several of the said Effigies, or Resemblances of the *Pope*, to be made; some of them displaying [5] him in one posture, and some in another; but all of them were followed with lowd and numerous acclamations to their several places of Execution.

He of them who might best pretend to the priority in point of Workmanship and invention, was raised on a small Pavillion, born like Pageants on Mens Backs, with a large Cross filled with Lamps, which in much majesty stalkt before him, whilst the Effigies, curiously adorned with his Triple Crown, Neck-lace of Beads, and all his other superstitious Accouterments, came very sumptuously behind, in procession from the *Royal-Exchange* to *Temple-Bar*, and visiting most Streets, Courts, and Alleys as he walkt along.

So frollick was he, that he danced before the Flames, and when he came near *Temple-Bar* (*the place of Execution*) cut a *Caper* into a great Bonefire, provided on purpose to entertain him, whose abominable

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civilities [6] had been so great, as heretofore to provide such large ones for others.

In fine after this feigned *Pope* had been sufficiently exposed to the Vulgar Reflections, he was hurl'd, Canopy, Triple Crown, Beads, Crucifix and all into the Bonefire near *Chancery-Lane* end, in *Fleet-street*, where a world of People celebrated his fall with a general *Vtinam*, that all his Majesties Enemies, or the perverters of the Protestant Religion, or *English* Government, may ere long be reduced to some such Fate.

The seventh and eighth pages of the tract contain "A brief Account of the Papistical Massacres and Cruelties towards Protestants," which does not here concern us.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

In his account of Pope Day celebrations in this country, referred to by Mr. Kittredge, Mr. Cunningham cited no earlier instance than in 1685. When he was preparing that account, I said I thought that somewhere I had a reference to a notice of the day in Bradford's History, though I was unable to find it at the time. Recently I have noted what, in all probability, I had in mind six years ago. In 1623 there was a fire in Plymouth, and Bradford says: "This fire was occasioned by some of the sea-men that were roystering in a house wher it first begane, makeing a great fire in very could weather, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnte downe .3. or .4. houses, and consumed all the goods and provisions in them."[1] Bradford does not give the exact date, but this is supplied by Morton, who against this passage inserted in the margin "*This was on the fifth of* November 1624[2]" — the year 1624 being a slip of Morton's or a typographical error for 1623.

On behalf of the Rev. CHARLES E. PARK, Mr. Henry H. Edes read a correspondence between the Spain Lane Unitarian Chapel in Boston, England, and the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts, on the completion of one hundred years of peace from the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

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[1] History of Plymouth Plantation (ed. Ford), i. 333–334.

[2] New England's Memorial (1669), p. 51. The year is correctly given in the headline as 1623. Cf. J. A. Goodwin's Pilgrim Republic (1888), pp. 249–250.

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Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a letter dated 17 April, 1794, from George Hammond, the first British Minister to the United States, to Lord Grenville, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, describing an interview with Alexander Hamilton regarding British invasions of the rights of neutrals. In this the British Minister described the war as one "in which all the dearest interests of society were involved, and which was a contest between government and disorder, virtue and vice, and religion and impiety."

Mr. MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

In a paper read before the Society in April, 1912, it was stated that eight editions of Nathaniel Morton's New England's Memorial had been published — the third at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1772,[1] the fourth by Allen Danforth at Plymouth in 1826, and the fifth (edited by Judge John Davis) at Boston in 1826 also.[2] Several weeks ago, in running through some Boston newspapers and magazines, I was surprised to see advertised "Proposals for publishing by subscription, a new and improved edition" of Morton's book. These proposals, dated January 14, 1803, stated that "Historical and Explanatory Notes will be added by the present Editor, together with a Map of the Old Colony of Plymouth;" but the name of the editor was not given.[3] Of course, it at once occurred to me that these proposals must refer to the edition published by Judge Davis in 1826. Still, this was merely a conjecture. As there was only one living person who could speak with authority, I appealed to Mr. Lord, with a result which he himself will announce.

Let me call attention to a curiosity in connection with Judge Davis's edition. In the preface, dated December 12, 1826, Davis says that "some explanation, or apology it may be thought, should be offered, for the long delay in the publication of this work." The work was copyrighted on December 13th, and the following advertisement was printed in the Columbian Centinel of December 23d:

[1] Cf. Boston Post Boy of April 20 (p. 3/3) and 27 (p. 4/3), 1772.

[2] Publications, xiv. 268 note 2.

[3] New England Palladium, January 14, 1803, p. 3/2. A reference to the proposals also appeared in the Boston Weekly Magazine of January 22, 1803, i. 55.

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WELLS & LILLY

HAVE just published NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL. By NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. *Fifth* Edition. Containing besides the original work, and the Supplement annexed to the second edition, large additions in marginal notes, and an Appendix, with a lithographic copy of an ancient map. By JOHN DAVIS, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society (p. 3/2).[1]

Hence the book was published between December 13th and 23d, 1826. Now on December 22, 1815, the Rev. James Flint delivered at Plymouth a Discourse, printed at Boston in 1816, which at the end contained this note:

To those who may wish to furnish themselves with a minute and full historical account of the pilgrims, and of the Plymouth colony and church, down to the present period, we would recommend the "New-England Memorial," recently republished, with notes and an ample appendix, by the Hon. Judge Davis, of Boston. From the peculiar opportunities of that gentleman, being a native of Plymouth, and having been long a resident there, and from the known interest, ability and care with which his researches have been presented, the reader may confidently expect to find, in this publication, the most complete and satisfactory information, relative to the first settlers of the Old Colony, and its subsequent history, that, in all probability, will ever be obtained (p. 22).

A possible explanation occurs to me. Though Flint refers to Morton's book as "recently republished," yet he also says that "the reader *may* confidently *expect* to find," etc. Is it possible that Davis's

[1] The following advertisement, evidently referring to the edition published by Allen Danforth at Plymouth in 1826, appeared in the Columbian Centinel of December 2 (p. 2/5), 9 (p. 4/4), and 16 (p. 1/3), 1826:

NEW ENGLAND MEMORIAL

JUST published, a new edition of the "NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL," or a brief relation of the most remarkable passages of the providence of GOD, manifested to the Planters of New-England, with special reference to the Colony of Plymouth. By NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth. For sale by RICHARDSON & LORD.

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edition had again been advertised in the papers in 1815, that Flint had seen the advertisement and concluded that the work had been published, but, not having actually himself seen the book, said that "the reader may confidently expect to find," etc.? At all events, it is singular to find a book not published until 1826 alluded to as "recently republished" in a pamphlet printed in 1816.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD made the following communication:

Mr. Matthews has called to my attention the interesting advertisement in the New England Palladium of January 14, 1803, relating to a new and improved edition of Morton's New England's Memorial. The inquiry which he suggests as to whether there was an edition of the Memorial published at that time or between that date and 1826, when appeared the edition printed by Allen Danforth at Plymouth and the fifth edition of the Memorial, edited by John Davis, can be satisfactorily answered by reference to the records of the First Parish in Plymouth and to some original material in my collection.

The advertisement in the Palladium undoubtedly referred to the new edition of the Memorial which Judge Davis as early as 1802 proposed to edit. There is a letter dated Plymouth, October 11, 1802, from John Davis to my grandfather, the Rev. James Kendall, then minister of the First Church in Plymouth, copied in the records of the First Parish and reading as follows:

PLYMOUTH, October 11, 1802.

DEAR SIR:

I return you herewith the first volume of Church records with which you lately favored me for perusal. Accept my acknowledgement for the indulgence. I have read considerable a portion of the book and with a great deal of satisfaction, it is a precious morsel of antiquity and one cannot peruse it without feeling solicitous that it may be secured from the possible fatality of accident, or the slow but sure ravages of time, the Ecclesiastical history etc penned by Secretary Morton would be a suitable appendage to his New England Memorial which has been long out of print and would I am persuaded be very acceptable to the Public in a new edition — the present generation is at that distance from the founders of New England, that it has become interesting to trace the first line of their History, and if I be not greatly deceived in regard to the Public taste these plain and venerable originals would be generally

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and highly acceptable. Feeling a strong desire to have the work accomplished which I have suggested, it would be gratifying to me to be indulged with the use of these records for that purpose and I would cheerfully consent the entire Profit of the proposed publication, should be accounted for to the Precinct to constitute part of the fund for the maintenance of the Ministry therein. I am Sir respectfully and with great regard your obedient servant.

JOHN DAVIS

The Rev. James Kendall

This letter was read at the meeting of the parish held October 21 1802, and it was then —

Voted that the Precinct will unite with the Church in accomplishing the Proposal of the Honourable Judge Davis as above in procuring a republication of Secretary Morton's Memorial of New England and for adding the History of the Church thereto, as an appendage as it shall be digested by him. Also that a Committee be raised to join with the Committee of the Church to carry said object into effect.

The parish then made choice of the standing committee of the precinct for that purpose, which committee consisted of Joshua Thomas, William Davis, James Thacher, and William Jackson, and it was then —

Voted and requested said Committee to use their best endeavour to procure donation to a fund to be added to what may be procured by the publication above, the interest of which to be applied to the Support of the Minister in this Precinct in future.

I have here a photostat of a broadside, dated Boston, December 22, 1802, the original of which is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, which upon comparison with the advertisement in the New England Palladium is found, with the exception of the place and the date at the top, to be identical, so far as the rule above the words "SPECIMEN OF THE PAGE AND TYPE," with the prospectus. This specimen of the page and type which appears in the broadside was omitted in the advertisement in the Palladium.[1] The closing paragraph in the Palladium reading —

[1] This specimen of the page and type consists of Morton's address to the "Christian Reader," dated "Plymouth in New-England, January 13, 1680," afterwards printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers.

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"☞ *Subscriptions will be received at the Bookstores of Messrs.* Manning & Loring, J. White & Co., Thomas & Andrews, E. Larkin, West & Greenleaf, W. P. & L. Blake, *and at the different Bookstores in the principal towns in this and the neighbouring States*" — is omitted in the broadside. The broadside, below the specimen of the page and type, has the words on the same line "Subscribers' Names. Residence. No. of Copies," leaving a place below for the signatures of the subscribers, their addresses and number of copies.

The broadside, down to the specimen of the pages and type, reads as follows:

Boston, December 22, 1802.

PROPOSALS

For Publiſhing, by Subſcription,

A NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL;

Firſt Publiſhed in the Year 1669.

BY NATHANIEL MORTON,

SECRETARY OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED,

A valuable *TRACT* by the same Author, compoſed in the Year 1680, and which has never been printed.

This Tract compoſes part of the Firſt Volume of the Records of the Firſt Church in Plymouth; it was intended to ſupply many omiſſions in the Memorial, and was compiled principally from the manuſcripts of Governor Bradford.

HISTORICAL and EXPLANATORY NOTES will be added by the preſent Editor, together with a *Map of the Old Colony of Plymouth*, in which the Indian, as well as the Engliſh names of places, will be inſerted.

Conditions.

I. The Work will be compriſed in one volume of about 400 pages, and will be delivered to Subſcribers at *Two Dollars* for each copy, handſomely bound and lettered, or at *One Dollar and Fifty Cents*, in boards. Payment to be made when the books ſhall be delivered.

II. The paper and type ſhall correſpond to the ſpecimen annexed to theſe Propoſals, excepting that the *Notes* will be in a *ſmaller type*.

III. Subſcribers for ten copies and upwards, ſhall be allowed a diſcount of ten per cent. from the price above mentioned.

IV. Every Subſcriber will be underſtood as engaging to take the book *bound*, unleſs it be otherwiſe expreſſed at the time of ſubſcribing.

V. The work will be printed by Meſſrs. Manning and Loring, and be put to preſs as ſoon as ſufficient encouragement ſhall be manifeſted. Subſcribers' Names will be publiſhed, unleſs the omiſſion be requeſted.

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☞ *The Subſcription will be open until the firſt day of* April next; *at which time, thoſe Gentlemen, to whom Propoſals may be committed, are requeſted to return them to* MANNING & LORING, *at their Bookſtore*, No. 2, Cornhill, BOSTON.

THE NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL contains a faithful and intereſting narrative, relative to the ſettlement and infant ſtate of our Country. It was firſt published in London,[1] and was received with great approbation by the people of New-England, and by all who felt intereſted in the great and magnanimous enterprize which it records. Some of the firſt characters in Church and State, gave their teſtimonials of the merit of the Work; and in every ſucceeding generation, it has been peruſed with pleaſure and improvement.

To the ſecond edition, publiſhed in 1721, there was annexed a Summary, by another hand,[2] bringing down the Hiſtory of the Colony, though in a brief manner, to its incorporation with Maſſachuſetts in 1692.

It is a work that principally relates to the Colony of Plymouth; but the Author frequently adverts to tranſactions and events in the neighboring Colonies. It has long been out of print; and it is hoped, that a republication in the manner and with the improvements contemplated, will be acceptable to all, who reverence the characters and inſtitutions of our Anceſtors, and who indulge a liberal curioſity in tracing the firſt lines of their Hiſtory.

It is evident that Judge Davis and the committee regarded that the use of the first volume of the church records containing the ecclesiastical history, etc., penned by Secretary Morton, and which in 1841 was published by Dr. Young in his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, would be a useful and valuable "Appendage to the New England Memorial," and that both the editor and the parish were of opinion that for the use of the church records for that purpose some consideration should be paid, and willingly accepted Judge Davis's offer "that the entire profit of the proposed publication should be accounted for to the Precinct to constitute part of the funds for the maintenance of the ministry therein."

The arrangement being then completed between the parish and the editor, the prospectus was issued and advertisements appeared in the Palladium and in the Boston Weekly Magazine and other papers, as stated by Mr. Matthews. The undertaking was fully launched and yet the publication of an edition, edited by John Davis, did not appear until 1826, and in that edition the only citation from the church records is relative to the removal to Nauset.[3]

No further action was taken by the parish or its committee so far as the records show until 1814, at which time an agreement was entered into, under date of the 7th of February, 1814, by and between

[1] It is curious to find this statement at so early a period. In the Preface to his edition published in 1826, Judge Davis said that "The first edition of the Memorial was published in 1669. It was a small quarto volume, printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson" (p. iv). This latter statement is unquestionably correct: see Mr. Matthews's paper called A Ghost-Book (Publications of this Society, xiv. 268–281).

[2] Josiah Cotton.

[3] Plymouth Church Records, lib. i. p. 45.

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the "Rev. James Kendall, Ephraim Spooner, Esquire, Nathaniel Goodwin, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Russell and James Thacher, Physician, all of Plymouth, in the County of Plymouth, being a committee of the First Church in Plymouth aforesaid, of the one part, and Joseph Avery, Bookseller, of said Plymouth of the other part," which agreement I have here, and which recites —

That whereas the said first church in Plymouth hath caused to be prepared and have ready for publication a work entitled A new and improved edition of the New-England Memorial first published in the year 1669 by Nathaniel Morton secretary of Plymouth colony. To which will be added a valuable tract by the same Author composed in the year 1680 and which has never been printed. This Tract composes part of the first volume of the records of the first Church in Plymouth it was intended to supply many omissions in the Memorial and was compiled principally from the manuscripts of Governor Bradford. To ensure correctness in the proposed republication the different editions of the Memorial will be carefully compared and such historical and explanatory notes as shall appear to be necessary will be added by the Editor.

And whereas the said Joseph Avery hath agreed to print and publish the said work and to purchase the right and interest which the said first church have in the same, Now know ye that the said committee in behalf and by the authority of the said first church for the consideration herein after expressed hath bargained sold and assigned and doth by these presents bargain sell and assign to the said Avery the work aforesaid and all the title interest and claim which the said church have to the same so far as respects the Edition of the said work now to be printed to have and to hold the same to him the said Avery his executors administrators and assigns to his and their use.

And the said Joseph Avery on his part covenants and agrees that he will print and publish the said work at his own expense with a fair type and on good paper and that he will deliver to the said committee or to such persons as the said church shall direct as soon as practicable after the publication of said work sixty copies handsomely bound and lettered provided this edition consists of two thousand copies only but if a greater number should be printed it is agreed by the parties that the said first church shall be entitled to receive from said Avery books bound and lettered at the rate of five per cent on the number so printed over and above the two thousand copies as aforesaid, and it is further stipulated and agreed by the said parties that the said church shall not be at

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liberty to dispose of the copyright of said work to any other person or cause to be printed another edition of said work so long as the said Avery shall have two hundred copies of the first edition unsold.

And the said parties to the faithful performance of this covenant bind themselves their heirs executors administrators and successors the aforesaid committee in behalf of the said first church and the said Avery for himself firmly by these presents in the final sum of five hundred dollars — In testimony where of they have hereunto and also unto another instrument of the same tenor and date interchangeably affixed their hands and seals this Eighth day February A. D. 1814.

It is expressly understood by the parties, that the edition to be published shall not exceed three thousand copies, and that the said Committee of the first Church of Plymo. convey no right to the said Joseph Avery except for one edition.

Signed Sealed and delivered
in presence of
SALLY KENDALL
JAMES A. KENDALL

JOSEPH AVERY
JAMES KENDALL
EPHRAIM SPOONER
NATHANIEL GOODWIN
NATHL. RUSSELL
JAMES THACHER.

The agreement is witnessed by Sally Kendall and James A. Kendall, H. U. 1823, the wife and the eldest son of the Rev. James Kendall, D. D., H. U. 1796. It will be noted that the title of this publication —

A New and Improved Edition of the New England's Memorial, first published in the year 1669, by Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of Plymouth Colony, to which will be added a valuable tract by the same author, composed in the year 1680, and which has never been printed. This tract composes part of the first volume of the records of the First Church in Plymouth. It was intended to supply many omissions in the Memorial and was compiled principally from the manuscripts of Governor Bradford —

is verbatim et literatim the language of the advertisement and of the prospectus before referred to.

The parish records do not show that any action on this subject was taken at the meetings of the parish of that year or later.

The existence of this agreement between the committee of the First Parish and the Plymouth bookseller, respecting the publica-

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tion of the Memorial under the editorship of John Davis, explains the curious error made by the Rev. James Flint in the note to his Discourse, delivered at Plymouth December 22, 1815, which was printed in Boston by Lincoln & Edmands for Joseph Avery in Plymouth, in 1816. Dr. Flint was undoubtedly informed, either by the committee or by Mr. Avery, that there was an edition of the Memorial, edited by John Davis, which was to be shortly published, and presumably when Dr. Flint said in his note —

> To those who may wish to furnish themselves with a minute and full historical account of the pilgrims, and of the Plymouth colony and church, down to the present period, we would recommend the "New-England's Memorial," recently republished, with notes and an ample appendix, by the Hon. Judge Davis, of Boston —

he assumed that it would be published by the date of the publication of his Discourse, and perhaps the bookseller Avery, if he read the note, regarded the statement therein made as a useful advertisement of the book which he had agreed to print, and whose early publication he undoubtedly anticipated. But the work which Dr. Flint announced in 1816 was delayed for ten years, and then not published by the too hopeful Avery.

This agreement entered into by the committee of the church conclusively shows that there had been no publication of the edition proposed in 1802, as if it had been published the agreement would not have contained the statement, "To which will be added a valuable tract by the same author, composed in the year 1680, and which has never been printed." In 1826 the edition of New England's Memorial, edited by John Davis, was printed at Boston by Crocker and Brewster, and the Preface by the editor refers to the previous editions, as follows:

> The first edition of the Memorial was published in 1669. . . . A second edition was printed in 1721, at Boston, by Nicholas Boone. . . . In 1772, a third edition, copied from the second, was printed, at Newport, by Solomon Southwick. When another edition appeared to be demanded, it was thought desirable, that notes should be annexed, giving information in regard to many particulars, connected with the original narrative, that might, in a degree, meet the increased interest in the early history of our country. This was undertaken by the editor. Before the completion of his labours, which have been often interrupted,

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and for long intervals suspended, another edition of the Memorial and Mr. Cotton's Supplement has appeared, printed at Plymouth by Allen Danforth, in a duodecimo volume, so that this enlarged edition, which, it was expected, would have been the fourth, is denominated the fifth.

If any further evidence were necessary to establish the fact that neither the edition referred to in the advertisement in the Palladium and in the prospectus, nor the edition contemplated under the agreement with Joseph Avery, made by the committee of the First Church, had been printed, the statement which Judge Davis made, that the Danforth edition was the fourth edition would be conclusive, for it is impossible that another edition could have been printed between 1802 and 1826 without the knowledge of Judge Davis.

It may be fairly inferred from the following extract from the Preface that this edition of 1826 was the edition contemplated by Judge Davis in his letter to the church in 1802. The Preface to that edition closes with the following sentences:

> With these introductory notices, some explanation, or apology it may be thought, should be offered, for the long delay in the publication of this work. The usual excuse in such cases, circumstances beyond the control of the author, may not perhaps be admitted; and yet, to say more, would occupy the writer and the reader in details of little interest, at the present moment, and which will, soon, be of no interest whatever. The editor, might, perhaps, make out a case, inducing some mitigation of a sentence, that he may have reason to apprehend; but he is unwilling to connect such unimportant suggestions with the grave subject on which he has been employed, and with a work which he would now introduce, he hopes in an improved form, to public examination. Rather than to detain the reader, with awkward and unprofitable personal discussions, he would be disposed to admit that he has been to blame, and will be gratified if he shall have made his peace with expecting, and, sometimes, complaining friends, by any thing which may be found in the following pages.
>
> *Boston, December* 12th, 1826.

The probable explanation of the unusual delay of nearly a quarter of a century in the publication of the edition of the Memorial, edited by Judge Davis, may be found in the fact that in 1801 he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court and held that office continuously until 1841, and that the labors and duties of that

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important judicial position prevented him from devoting the time and attention necessary in his opinion to such editorial work.

These words of explanation and apology in the Preface suggest the possibility that the First Church in Plymouth, anticipating with eagerness and hope some increase of its ministerial fund from the publication of the new and improved edition, had given some indication of impatience and regret at the long delay. I do not find in the church records any reference to any new arrangement or agreement with Judge Davis subsequent to that made in the year 1802. The slight use which Judge Davis in fact made of the first volume of the church records might negative any presumption that there was any obligation on his part to pay for the privilege of using those records.

The copyright entry of the edition edited by Judge Davis clearly shows that at that date — December 13, 1826 — the Pilgrim Society, and not the Parish, was to be the beneficiary from the publication. The fifth edition of Morton's New England's Memorial, edited by Judge Davis, was entered December 13, 1826, in the Clerk's office of the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts, in the name of the Pilgrim Society, by their Treasurer, Isaac L. Hedge, as appears by the record given me by the Register of Copyrights in Washington.

At a meeting of the Pilgrim Society on the 22d of December, 1832, the librarian, Dr. Thacher, was appointed a committee to call on the Hon. John Davis and return to him the thanks of the Pilgrim Society for his generous donation to the Society of fifty volumes of his New England's Memorial, and to receive the same and to dispose of them for a price of not less than two dollars for each volume for the use and benefit of the Society. In accordance with this vote Dr. Thacher called on Judge Davis and at the meeting of the Society on the 23d of December, 1833, Dr. Thacher reported as follows:

> Being appointed a committee to consult with Hon. Judge Davis on the subject of disposing of a number of copies of the New England Memorial, belonging to the Society, I hereby report that I have performed that service and Judge Davis could see no prospect of disposing of said books, but at a very low price if at all, but he said if the Trustees desired it he would put them with his own and do the best he could with them.

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The report was not encouraging or satisfactory to Dr. Thacher at least, for at the next meeting of the Society, held on the 15th of May, 1834, the matter was again considered and it was voted that Dr. Thacher be a committee to receive of the Hon. Judge Davis the fifty volumes of his New England's Memorial, by him presented to the Pilgrim Society for the use and benefit of the Society. Dr. Thacher diligently attended to the duty assigned him and at the meeting in May, 1835, made a verbal report that he had received and deposited the same in the Society's library, thirty-nine volumes of the New England's Memorial, being in part of Judge Davis's donation.

No further action seems to have been taken by the Society until 1839, when at the annual meeting of the Pilgrim Society, held on the 27th day of May, the Society voted that the Trustees be authorized to negotiate with Judge Davis for the sale of the copyright of the New England's Memorial, and that they be fully empowered to convey the same to him, if they should judge it expedient, on such terms and conditions as they think proper.

On the 17th of July, 1840, the Trustees of the Pilgrim Society executed an assignment, conveying the copyright to Judge Davis for the sum of $100, and the assignment was recorded in the Copyright Records on the 24th of July of that year. This ended any pecuniary interest which the Pilgrim Society had in the publication, and the interest of the Parish was never more than a pleasant but ungratified expectation.

If it is ever possible to prove a negative, it would seem to be established that the edition of Morton's New England's Memorial, announced in the Palladium in January, 1803, and the edition announced by Dr. Flint in a note to his Discourse, published in 1816, never in fact existed and that from the time of the third edition of the New England's Memorial, published in 1772, to 1826 no edition was published.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1915

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 February, 1915, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. SAMUEL HENSHAW accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK of Worcester, and the Hon. WINSLOW WARREN of Dedham, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. JOHN TROWBRIDGE read a letter written by Washington dated 22 March, 1781, accepting fellowship in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.[1]

Mr. WILLIAM R. THAYER read a paper on John Hay's connection with the McKinley Presidential campaign, the English Mission, and the Spanish War.

Mr. FRED N. ROBINSON spoke of a Gaelic poem by Thomas O'Meehan, written apparently about 1779, in which Washington and John Paul Jones are referred to.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD communicated a Diary kept by Washington at Mount Vernon from 1 August to 18 October, 1786.[2]

[1] The letter is printed in Washington's Writings (ed. Sparks), vii. 459.

[2] Cf. Publications of this Society, vii. 127–181, 341–398, xvii. 161–205.

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DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

AUGUST 1 — OCTOBER 18, 1786

AUGUST — 1786

Tuesday — 1st

Mercury at 67 in the Morning 69 at noon and 66 at Night. Morning heavy and sometimes mizzling but clear afterwards till night when the clouds assembled and rained the whole night, sometimes very fast. Wind at East.

Mrs Fendall, Harriot Washington,[1] and Lucy Lee (a child) — Colo Fitz-Gerald,[2] Colo Simms,[3] Captn Conway,[4] Messrs Saml and, Thos Hanson[5] & Mr Charles Lee came here to dinner, all of whom, except the 3 first named, went away after it.

Wednesday — 2d

Mercury at 65 in the Morning 70 at noon and 70 at N. Much rain had fallen in the night. The day was variable, but generally cloudy with fine rain about 10 or 11 o'clock which lasted more than an hour after which the sun came out but for a short duration.

Rid to Mudy hole, but proceeded no further as, at the time I was there the appearances of a wet day were greater.

Thursday — 3d

Mercury at 72 in the Morning 75 at noon. and 76 at night. A good deal of rain fell last night — the day for the most part was cloudy and warm, altho' the wind blew pretty fresh from the East. In the afternoon there was again the appearance of much rain but none fell here.

Rid to the plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole at the first fd the drilled corn had been wed with the Hoes and the People

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[1] See p. 47 note 3, below.

[2] John Fitzgerald.

[3] Charles Simms.

[4] Francis Conway, who married Elizabeth Fitzhugh.

[5] Samuel Hanson was tutor to George Steptoe Washington (cf. p. 47 note 3, below), but failed to exercise due control over his ward: see Washington's Writings (ed. Ford), xi. 263, 297, 372.

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were cleansing the Meadow ditches. & that the plows had done with the corn till seeding with wheat I set them to plowing that part of the New Ground which had been gone over with the Colter plow with a view of sowing Turnips therein.

Turned the two old draft oxen at Home house, one of the old cows from ditto, and Steer, & cows from Dogue run into the Meadows at that place, at the same time put my rams into the same place, & 25 ewe Lambs on the clover at Muddy hole, where I ordered the work horses to be put.

My Overseer returned from a Mr Reynolds in Calvert C^ty Maryland with one ram & 15 ewe lambs of the English breed of sheep wch I ordered to be turned into the same place.

In the evening Richd Sprig[1] Esqr of Annapolis & another Mr Sprig came in and stayed all night.

Friday — 4th

Mercury at 72 in the Morning, 77 at noon, and 74 at night.

The appearances of rain yesterday afternoon fell very heavily about Ravensworth & that part of the county occasioning greater freshes in Accatinck, Pohick & Hunting ck. than had been known for many years, & it is thought a good deal of damage to the crops of corn & other grain on the gr^d

Rid to the Plantations in the Neck, Muddy hole and Dogue run and dined afterwards at Mr Lund Washington's with Mrs Washington Col^o Humphreys,[2] & Mrs. Fendall, and Major Washington (who had first been to Alex^a on business) and his wife.[3] Some showers this afternoon. At the Neck plantation the Plows had, on Monday last finished plowing the drilled corn East cut, and would this day have compleated all the other corn except the cut on the River in wch Wheat will be first sowed.

Saturday — 5th

Mercury at 71 in the Morning — at noon 79 and 79 at night. Clear & very warm all day.

Went to Alexandria to a meeting, of the Directors of the Potomac Comp^y in order to prepare the acc^t, and a report for the gen^l Meeting

[1] Born 1739, died 1795; of Cedar Park, Anne Arundel County, Maryland: see Maryland Historical Magazine, viii. 82.

[2] David Humphreys (1752–1818).

[3] George Augustine Washington, son of Charles Washington (brother of George Washington), married Frances Bassett, daughter of Col. Burwell Bassett.

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of the C° on Monday next.—Neither of the Maryland Gen^{ts} attended. Dined at Wises Tav^{n}

Finished weeding the drilled corn at Muddy hole this day.

Sunday — 6th

Mercury at 75 in the Morn^{g} 84 at noon and 79 at Night. Clear and tolerably pleasant.

At home all day without Company.

Monday — 7th

Mercury at 72 in the Morning 78 at noon and 77 at Night.

Went to Alexandria to the General meeting of the Potomack C° Col° Humphreys accompanied me, a sufficient number of sharers being present to constitute the Meeting, the Acc^{ts} of the Directors were exhibited and a general report made, but for want of the Secretary's Books which were locked up and he absent the orders and other proceedings referred to in that report could not be exhibited.[1]

Tuesday — 8th

Mercury at 78 in the Morning 79 at noon and 75 at night. Wind Southerly and day warm, especially the fore part of it. In the evening there were appearances of settled rain, enough of which fell to make the eves of the House run but it was of short continuance.

Rid by Muddy hole plantation to my meadow in the Mill swamp; and leveled from the old dam, just below Wades Houses, to the head of the Old race by the stooping red oak; stepping 27½ y^{ds} or as near as I could judge five rods between each stake, which are drove in as follows. — 1 at the water edge where I begun, and lev^{l} with the surface thereof; two in the old race (appearances of which still remain) and a fourth by a parcel of small Persimon bushes after having just passed the Bars leading into the Meadows, the others at the distance above mentioned from each other to the stooping red oak.

[1] The proceedings in detail are given in J. Pickell, New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington, p. 87. Much information about the Potomac Company will also be found in Corra Bacon-Foster, Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West (1912).

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				feet	I	q^{rs}				
1.	Stake in, & lev^{l} with ye water									
2.	5	rod	rise	1	0	2				
3.	5	Do	do	..	10	..				
4.	5	Do	do	..	10	3	by Bars.			
5.	5	Do	do	1	5	1				
6.	5	Do	Do				Fall	1	0	3
7.	5	Do					Do	..	5	3
8.	5	Do	rise	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
9.	5	Do					Fall	..	..	1
10.	5	Do	rise	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
11.	5	Do	rise	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
12.	5	Do					Fall	..	9	
13.	5	Do					..	..	2	3
14.	5	Do	rise	..	4	3	..		..	..
15.	5	Do	rise	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
16.	5	Do					Fall	..	4	
17.	5	Do					Fall	..	2	2
18.	5	Do	rise	..	10	1	..	..	..	..
19.	5	Do					Fall	..	2	3
20.	24	y^{ds}	rise	..	1	2				
	7	ditto into Ditch	rise			2				
		Total rise		7	3	2	Fall	5	4	
		difference					Fall	1	11	2
				7	3	2		7	3	2

By this it appears that the ground from the level of the water at the old dam by Wades Houses to the race by the stooping red oak, is higher by two feet (wanting half an inch) than the bottom of the race in its present filled up state, is, and that the ditch, on old race must be considerably sunk. — The old dam considerably raised and strengthened in order to throw the water into the new ditch, or a dam made higher up the run, so as to gain a greater fall which of the three may be most eligable as it will, without any great additional expence drain a good deal more of the swamp, — but if it should be thought more eligable deepening the race, and raising the dam will carry of the water from the meadow below but then it may drain the land above.

At Muddy hole — the hands finished hoeing the drilled corn — on Saturday, last and on Monday & this day were employed in getting out wheat.

In the evening Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham and Mr. Robt Randolph came here from Ravensworth.[1]

[1] William Fitzhugh (*b.* 1741): see Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, viii. 94. Ravensworth was the home of the Fitzhughs in Fairfax County, Virginia.

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Wednesday — 7th

Mercury at 74 in the Morning 81 at noon and 77 at night. Wind Southerly — Morning a little lowering but clear afterwards till about 3 o'clock when a cloud in the west produced a pretty heavy shower of rain attended with a good deal of wind in a short space. — In the night it again rained.

Began to sow wheat at the Ferry and in the neck, yesterday. — at the first in the cut on the flat adjoining the drilled corn, and at the other in the cut on the river.

Finished clearing two stacks of wheat which had been tread out at Muddy hole each measured 24 bushels of light wheat weighing only — lbs p^r Bushel.

Thursday 10th

Mercury at 73 in the Morn'g. 74 at noon and 70 at night.

Wind at N° E^t with mists and very light showers till towards noon when the sun came out — warm till towards the afternoon when it grew cooler & pleasanter.

Rid to Muddy hole, Dogue run and ferry Plantations, at the first of which wheat seeding will commence to morrow — at the second things are not in order for it, and at the third the sowing has been stopped by the heavy rain which fell yesterday.

Mr Fitzhugh and Mr Randolph went away after Breakfast.

Friday — 11th

Mercury at 68 in the Morning 76 at noon, and 74 at night. Clear & pleasant with the wind at S° West.

Rid to Muddy hole and Dogue run Plantations at the first, sowing wheat began this morning. — at the latter I agreed with one James Lawson who was to provide another hand to ditch for me in my mill swamp upon the following terms. — viz. — to allow them every day they work, each 1 lb of Salt or 1½ of fresh meat p^r day 1¼ lb of brown bread, 1 pint of spirits and a bottle of Milk, the bread to be baked at the House, & their meat to be cooked by Morris's wife, and to allow them 16^d p^r rod for ditches of 4 feet wide at top 1 foot wide at bottom, and 2 feet deep; with 12 or 15 inches footing and 2/ for ditches of 6 feet wide at top 2 feet at bottom, and two f^t deep with equal footing.

On My return home found Mr John Barns and Doct^r Craik [1] here the last of whom returned to Alexandria — the other stayed all night.

[1] Dr. James Craik.

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Saturday — 12th

Mercury at 72 in the Morning, 79 at noon and 74 at night. Warm, with a tolerably brisk Southerly wind all day.

Mr. Barnes went away before Breakfast. After which I rid to my meadow in order to mark out a middle ditch, and to try how much the water within the meadow is above the water in the run below where the two courses of it unite, below the old mill Seat and which is found to be realy 3 feet; estimating between the surfaces of the two. It also appears that the meadow, just by where a breach is made in the dam, is as low as any part of it reckoning from the surface of the water (from the bottom of the bed of the run would undoubtedly be deeper) — and that from this place to the surface of the run at a turn of it by a spreading Spanish bush the rise is about fourteen Inches.

Thomas McCarty left this yesterday, it being found that he was unfit for a House hold Steward. Richard Burnet took his place on the wages of Thirty pounds p^{r} ann.

Sunday — 13th

Mercury at 69 in the Morning 70 at noon and 69 at night.

Day lowering with the wind at East, now and then a little sprinkle of rain but not enough to wet the roots of anything.

Mr Shaw [1] quitted this family today. Co^{lo} Humphreys, Geo. Washington & Wife went to Church at Alexandria today & dined with Mr. Fendall,[2] the first remained there all night.

Monday — 14th

Mercury at 72 in the Morn'^{g}. 73 at noon — and 70 at night. Day clear, and the wind fresh from the N° West, from morn till eve.

Went by way of Muddy hole & Dogue run plantations to the meadow, in my mill Swamp to set the Ditchers to work, only one of whom appeared. About noon he began on the side ditch, East of the meadow. After doing this, and levelling part of the ground (with a Rafter level) along which the ditch was to be cut I intended to have run a course or two of Fencing at Muddy hole but meeting with Genl Duplessis [3] in the road who intended [4] to Mt Vernon but had lost his way I returned home with him, where Col° Humphreys had just arrived before us.

[1] William Shaw, who had recently been Washington's secretary.

[2] Philip Richard Fendall.

[3] Chevalier Mauduit Duplessis.

[4] To intend, in the sense of "to start on a journey, to set out," is marked "obsolete or archaic" in the Oxford English Dictionary, no extract from English

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Tuesday — 15th

Mercury at 64 in the Morning 70 at noon and 65 at night. Cool & for the most part of the day lowering with but little wind.

At home all day — Doctr Stuart[1] & Mr Keith, deputed by the Potomack Co to present its thanks to the President & directors thereof came for that purpose, dined here, & returned in the Afternoon.

Wednesday — 16th

Mercury at 66 in the Morning 71 at noon — and 70 at night. Cloudy and lowering for the greater part of the day and in the night a good deal of rain fell. — Wind at So. West.

Colonels Fitzgerald and Lyles,[2] Mr Brailsford (an English Gentleman) and Mr Perrin came here to dinner & returned afterwards, in the afternoon a Major Freeman who looks after my concerns West of the Alligany mountains came in and stayed all night.

Thursday — 17th

Mercury at 68 in the morning 74 at noon — and 70 at night. Drizling morning with the wind at So. West, Cloudy and misting at times all day.

About breakfast time my Baggage which had been left at Gilbert Simpson's arrived here.

Settled acct with Major Freeman and engaged him to continue his agency till he should remove from his present residence to Kentucke. and then to put all my bonds into the hands of Lawyer Smith to bring suits on.

At home all day, understood that the river cut at the neck had been sowed with wht

Friday — 18th

Mercury at 70 in the Morning, 74 at noon and 72 at night. Misty morning with light showers of rain through the day. — Wind at No East.

Rid to the plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, Muddy hole, and to the Mill, the hands at each place working on the Public roads — at

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prose being cited later than 1744. This use, however, was common in this country certainly until the nineteenth century.

[1] See p. 47 note 2, below.

[2] William Lyles & Co. supplied rum for the workers on the canal: see Pickell, p. 83.

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Dogue run the Plows and Hoes began to put in wheat on Wednesday last.

The ditcher at the meadows w^d by noon have compleated about 6 rod of the 6 feet ditch which would be about 1 rod and half p^r day.

A Mr Jno Dance recommended by Genl Mifflin,[1] & Willing Morris & Swanwick came here to offer his services to me as a manager but not wanting such a person he returned after dinner.

Saturday — 19th

Mercury at 69 in the Morning 72 at noon and 70 at night. Wind Easterly misting, and lowering in the forenoon but clear afterwards.

General Duplessis left this by 5 o'clock in the morning.

After Breakfast I accompanied Col^o Humphreys by water to Alexandria and dined with him at Captn Conways to whom he had been previously engaged. The Tools & Baggage of Mr Rawlin's workmen were carried to Alexandria in my Boat today.

Sunday — 20th

Mercury at 69 today morn'g. at 74 at noon and 70 at night. Very little wind at any period of the day — lowering for the most part and in the morning a little misty.

Monday — 21st

Mercury at 69 in the morning, 79 at noon — and 76 at night, clear and warm with but little.

Rid to the Plantations at Dogue run, Muddy hole & Ferry. — at the second the Hoes & Plows had just finished putting in wheat in the middle cut, which took —— bushels to sow it, after which they were ordered to thin the drilled turnips & to weed the carrots.

Tuesday — 22nd

Mercury at 72 in the Morning, 85 at noon — and 82 at night. very warm with little or no wind, & that southerly. — In the evening clouds with appearances of much rain but not a great deal fell at any of my plantations, more at Dogue run than elsewhere.

Finished sowing the middle cut in the large field in the neck to do which took —— bush^ls of grain, as it did —— bushels to seed the river side cut.

[1] Thomas Mifflin (1744–1800).

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Mr Jenifer came here to dinner yesterday — and Mr Wm Craik and his Sister (Miss Craik) came in the afternoon.[1] Doctr Craik came in before breakfast, after which he, his son & Daughter went away.

Wednesday — 23d

Mercury at 72 in the morning, 86 at noon and 84 at night. Quite Calm and exceedingly sultry, very clear.

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run and Ferry, also to the mill.

Colo Humphreys went away today to take the stage at Alexandria for the No Ward.

Mr. & Mrs Fendall — Mr. Charles Lee, Miss Flora & Miss Nancy Lee, Miss Compton & Harriot Washington came here to dinner, all of whom went away after it, except the 4 last named.

Having wed the Carrots and thinned the Turnips at Muddy hole I directed the people to sow some wheat in the cut adjoining the middle one which had been put into brine.

Thursday — 24th

Mercury at 76 in the Morning — 77 at noon and 70 at night. Wind pretty fresh from the Northward all day with appearances of rain in the forenoon. In the afternoon there were slight showers, but scarcely more than would make the eves of the House run.

Mr. Shaw came down before dinner and stayed all night. At home all day myself.

Friday — 25th

Mercury at 68 in the morning, 70 at noon — and 69 at night. Lowering all day with slight showers about 1 o'clock; with distant thunder in the evening there were still greater appearances of a settled rain.

Mr. Shaw went to Alexandria after breakfast in order to proceed to the Northward to embark at Philadelphia for the West. Inda

I rid to Muddy hole and Dogue run Plantations, at the first I marked out lines for a new partition of My fields and directed the best plowman at it to break up about 10 acres of Pasture land which had produced wheat the year of 1785; to try how it would yield (upon a single plowing) wheat next, sowed this fall.

[1] William Craik, son of Dr. James Craik, married Ann Fitzhugh, sister of Mrs. G. W. P. Custis. His eldest sister was Nancy Craik, who married Richard Harrison.

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At Dogue run meadow (mill swamp) I marked the middle ditch for the hired men to work on, while the season was proper.

Mr Rawlins from Baltim^o; and Mr Sharp came here before dinner to measure the work which had been done for me and to receive payment.

Saturday — 26th

Mercury at 68 in the Morning 77 at noon — and 73 at night. A great deal of rain in many hard showers fell in the course of last night. Morning cloudy, but clear afterwards and warm.

Rid to the neck, Muddy hole, and Ferry plantations. At the two first (as also at Dogue run Plantation) the Plows and Hoes were stopped by the earth being surcharged with water. At the Ferry, the cut of corn on the Hill having discharged the water more freely the People were putting in Wheat there.

On my return home found Mr. Geo. Fitzhugh (son of Col^o Wm Fitzhugh of Maryland) here. They dined & returned to Alexandria afterwards as did the Miss Lees & Miss Countee this Morn'g.

Sunday — 27th

Mercury at 67 in the Morning, 70 at noon and 69 at night.

Weather clear and very pleasant the wind being pretty fresh from the N^o West point. At home all day alone.

Monday — 28th

Mercury at 64 in the Morning 72 at noon and 70 at night. The forenoon clear, but lowering afterwards, with a slight sprinkling of rain about dusk. Wind at N^o E^t all day.

Just after we had breakfasted, and my horse was at the door for me to ride, Colonel & Mrs Rogers came in, when they sat down to breakfast which was prepared for them, I commenced my ride for Muddy hole, Dogue run & Ferry Plantations also to my meadow on Dogue run and the Mill. At Muddy hole and the Ferry a plow at each begun this day to break ground, for the purpose of sowing wheat, or rye, or both as shall be thought best.

The Ditchers (for one was added to James Lawson today) began the middle ditch in the meadow at the mill this morning, and my carpenters began to take up the forebay[1] at my Mill this morning also.

Began to level the unfinished part of the lawn in front of my House.

[1] "Fore-bay, . . . 'a reservoir or conductor between a mill-race and a waterwheel. The discharging end of a head or mill-race'" (Oxford English Dictionary, where the earliest extract is dated 1874).

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Tuesday — 29th

Mercury at 69 in the morning, 81 at noon — and 80 at night.

Lowering morning with drops of Rain — clear afterwards till the afternoon when a cloud arose in the N° West quarter and extending very wide emitted after dark a great deal of rain with much thunder and lightning. Wind very brisk from the s° West all day — In the evening it shifted more to the Westward.

Plowed up the Cowpens on the left of the road in order to sow Turnips but was prevented by the rain. Spreading stable dung on the poorest parts of my clover at home.

Thatching the Hay stacks at the same place.

Taken with an ague about 7 o'clock this Morning which being succeeded by a smart fever confined me to the House till evening. Had a slight fit of both on Sunday last but was not confined by them.

Colonel and Mrs Rogers left this about 10 o'clock for George Town, on their way to Baltimore.

Lund Washington called in to inform me that Mr William Triplet would be here tomorrow to converse with me on the subject of renting Mrs. French's[1] Lands in this Neck now in the occupation of one Robinson.

Wednesday — 30th

Mercury at 69 in the Morning, 68 at noon, and 62 at night. More rain fell last night and this forenoon Wind at East.

Prevented riding in the Morning by the weather. About noon Mr Willm Triplet & Mr. L. Washington came in and after a great deal of conversation respecting the Renting of Mrs French's Land, and the purchase of Manley's it ended in postponement till Friday for further consideration.

Thursday — 31st

Mercury at 60 in the Morning 63 at noon and 62 at night. More rain last night & this forenoon. With heavy weather all day. — Wind Easterly.

Seized with an ague before six o'clock this morning after having laboured under a fever all night.

Sent for Doct^r^ Craik who arrived just as we were setting down to dinner; who when he thought my fever sufficiently abated, gave me a cathartick and directed the Bark to be applied in the Morning.

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[1] Mrs. Daniel French.

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SEPTEMBER — 1786

Friday — 1st

Mercury at 62 in the morning 68 at noon, and 65 at night. A heavy dull Morning with little wind, close and warm all day, at least till abt 2 o'clock when the wind sprung up from the Eastward.

Doctr Craik went away after Breakfast. About 10 O'clock I set out for Mr Triplets called upon Lund Washington. Mrs French required more time for consideration before she could determine to give a lease for her life, but he agreed to sell me Manleys Land, on the following terms: viz. —

I to pay three pounds pr acre, and to pass my bond therefor, payable on demand with an interest of 5 pr Ct pr ann. till discharged. The money not to be called for only as the children come of age, or may require it. When the interest becomes due my Bond to be given for the same in order that the sum may be accumulating for their benefit instead of paying the cash.

In returning home I passed by my meadow at the mill — Dogue run & Muddy hole plantations found that the rains had been so constant & heavy that that an entire stop had put to the sowing of wheat among the corn, and to my ditching in the middle of the meadow at the mill, but that the grds which I had ordered to be broke up at the Ferry and Muddy hole and on the neck was advancing very well. Took 8 dozes of the red bark today.

Saturday — 2d

Mercury at 66 in the morning 72 at noon and 70 at night. Foggy morning but clear and warm afterwards with the wind at S° West.

Kept close to the House today being my fit day in course, least any exposure might bring it on. happily missed it.

Sowed Turnip Seed on the Cowpen ground which had been just plowed, harrowed them in, at the home house adjoining the clover.

Doctr Craik came here in the afternoon & stayed all night.

Sunday — 3d

Mercury at 70 in the morning 82 at noon, and 80 at night. Very thick fog in the morning but clear afterwards and warm with the wind at South.

Majr Washington & Mr Lear[1] went to Pohick Church, dined at Col° McCarty's, and returned afterwards, I rid by the Ferry to the Mill

[1] Tobias Lear (H. C. 1783), Washington's secretary.

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and back by way of exercise Doct^r Craik returned after he had breakfasted to Alexandria.

Monday — 4th

Mercury at 74 in the morning 86 at noon, and 82 at night.

Clear and very warm with scarcely a breath of wind all day & that from the Southward.

Maj^r Washington went up to Alexandria on my business & did not return till night.

I rid to Muddy hole & Dogue run Plantations, and to the Mill and meadow, at Muddy hole the Overseer began this morning to sow wheat again among Corn, but the ground was full wet and heavy for it—at Dogue run the People were repairing my outer Fences. Too much wet in the meadow to work on the middle ditch the ditchers proposed doing it tomorrow if the water contin^d to subside.

Tuesday — 5th

Mercury at 76 in the Morning 86 at noon and 80 at night.

Very warm with but little wind and that Southerly.

Rid to the neck and Muddy hole Plantations—at the first though unnoticed at the time the cut adjoining the drilled corn had been sowed with wheat ever since Tuesday last. — and this day (having taken the seed from it 14½ Bush^ls) the Flax was spread but not well the weeds not being sufficiently cut & taken off to let it lye well on the Earth.—At Muddy hole finished all the wheat sowing in Corn Ground I intended, viz 19 Bushels in the cut adjoining the drilled corn & 14 in the other East of it. The remainder of this latter cut being designed for Rye.

Mr. Wm Peake dined here.

Wednesday — 6th

Mercury at 76 in the morning 76 at noon and 72 at night.

Variable day, wind, what there was of it, Southerly in the forenoon & warm, tho' cloudy — N° Westerly afterwards and cool, with, sprinkling of Rain & great appearances of more but none fell.

Rid to my Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run & Muddy hole also to the Mill & the meadow where the Ditchers were at work. at the two first the People were sowing wheat again in corn ground, at Dogue run two acres of turf had been plowed up agreeably to my former orders to sow wheat on, this was done yesterday & the day before. The Lands plowed in the same way, tho' not so well turfed, some of it being wheat stubble of the last year and the remainder in what the year before I

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directed to be immediately sowed; the latter with wheat, and the former with Rye and thereafter the plowing of every day to [be] sowed & harrowed in before night, that no rain might intervene between the plowing and sowing. Timothy seeds were ordered to be sowed therewith and after the grain was harrowed in to be brushed in with a bush harrow, — these directions applied to the Ferry Muddy hole, & Neck ye first & last by having rye to sew & the other both Wheat & rye. Note. the Rye at the ferry to be sowed in this way, is on wh^t^ land of the last year and not on stubble of the last year as mentioned above.

Mr Rozer — a Mr Hall, & a Mr Mathews from the Eastern shore dined here and returned in the Afternoon, after which M^r^ & Mrs Fendall, came in on their [way to] Esquire Lees of Maryland (who is very ill) & stayed all night.

*Thursday — 7th*

Mercury at 64 in the morning. 71 at noon. — and 67 at night. Cool Morning with the wind pretty fresh from the Westward in the morning and from the eastward in the evening.

M^r^ & Mrs Fendall crossed the [river] early.

I rid to the Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run and Ferry at the first wheat had, this day been sowed up to the Land in wh^oh^ the Plow was at work & harrowed in. — the part next the hedge row (being the first plowed) had received a heavy rain since it was plowed which occasioned it not to harrow well, but as the greater part of it was a slipe of Cowpens it is more than probable, nevertheless that the best wheat will grow there. The People making a fence round that field.

At Dogue run the hands had been employed in putting in ab^t^ 1½ bush^ls^ of — the cape wheat raised below my stables. — This was put into a well cowpened piece of ground (now in corn) adjoining the meadow, the grass & weeds of which I had cut up & carried off the ground before the seed was sowed.

Getting out Rye at the Ferry to sow the newly broken up gr^d^

Began to Paper the yellow room this day — Maj^r^ Washington & Thos Green the undertakers — by the directions I received with the paper from England.

*Friday — 8th*

Mercury at 60 in the morning 69 at noon — and 64 at night Wind Easterly all day and cool with a rawness in the air.

Rid into the neck, and called at Muddy hole, found at the former that the last years cut of wheat surrounding the meadow would be nearly broke up for rye by the evening, and that that part of it South

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of the meadow adjoining the gate had been sowed with 2½ bushels of Rye — which was nearly harrowed in, and that the rest of the hands were employed in hoeing the drilled Turnips & in weeding & hilling the Cabbages between the Corn rows.

Saturday — 9th

Mercury at 62 in the morning, 72 at noon — and 68 at N^t A brisk North easterly wind all day, with great appearances of rain but none fell.

Rid to the Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run, and Ferry & went also to the Mill. At the latter, rye & Grass seed (Timothy) would be sowed on all the land that is plowed. Sowing rye on the plowed wheat stubble in the same manner at Muddy hole.*

On my return home from riding found Mr. William Triplett here, who delivered me the papers respecting Manley's land for which I had agreed with him, and who informed me that Mrs French had consented to rent me her Dower Land & Slaves in this Neck during her life and to assign Robinson's Lease to me on the same terms Robinson holds — viz. — £136 p^r Ann. to be paid to her clear of all expenses. I am not to move the Negroes out of the County, and a clause is to be inserted in the lease, that in case of my death and they should by my successor be maltreated in any respect that a forfeiture of the lease shall be incurred.

About 5 o'clock the Widow Randolph of Wilton, with her three sons & a daughter, a Miss Harrison (daughter to Col^o Charles Harrison) and Capt. Singleton came in, and about an hour afterwards Mr. Fendall & Mrs Fendall arrived.

Sunday — 10th

Mercury at 62 in the morning 67 at noon—and 63 at night. Wind variable sometimes at N^o West & then at East, weather lowering all day and at times especially after noon dripping.

M^r & Mrs Fendall went away after breakfast & Col^o Gilpin[1] came in, dined & returned in the afternoon.

* The ground at the ferry being stiff, breaking up in pretty large and heavy clods and the seed harrowed in with my lightest harrow, was not well covered & left the ground very rough & lumpy with hollows between the furrows that would prevent the grain from being well covered — and the Timothy seed still worse.

[1] George Gilpin.

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Monday — 11th

Mercury at 62 in the morning 66 at noon and 64 at night. Rain fell in the night, Morning drizzling with the wind at North tho' little of it.

Rid to Muddy hole, Dogue run & Ferry Plantations, and to my Ditchers at the meadow. At the last mentioned Plantation my people would have about finished this afternoon sowing the cut of corn on the Hill with wheat.

Colo Simms came here and dined on his way to Port Tobacco Court, & crossed the river afterwards.

Tuesday — 12th

Mercury at 61 in the morning, 70 at noon, and 68 at night. A good deal of rain fell in the course of the night and early this morning. About 8 o'clock the clouds began to dispel, and the wind blowing fresh from the No Wt the weather cleared, the sun came out and the day was pleasant & drying — and towards evening cool.

Mrs Randolph, Miss Harrison Mr G. Washington, Capt. Singleton, & Mr. Lear went to Alexandria after breakfast & returned before dinner.

I rid to the Plantations at Muddy hole and in the neck, began at the former to gather the tops and blades of the early corn in drills.

Wednesday — 13th

Mercury at 53 in the morning, 64 at noon and 60 at night. Wind at No West, raw and cold all day, but especially in the morning.

Mrs Randolph and her children Miss Harrison & Captn Singleton left this after breakfast.

I rid to the Plantations, at the Ferry, Dogue run & Muddy hole, also to the Mill.

At the first the people having finished sowing the cut on the hill with wheat, were chopping this grain in in the drilled corn by the fish house among the Potatoes, which they did by shifting the tops of the vines from side to side as they head. — at the other, or second place the hands continued hoeing & plowing in wheat in the corn ground tho' it was wet and heavy, — At the last Will, (plowman) finished in the afternoon the 10 acre piece of wheat he began the 28th ulto by which it appears he was 15 days accomplishing it; and had not plowed quite ¾ of an acre a day altho' the ground, except in one or two small spots, which had been made wet & heavy by the Rains, was in as good order for plowing as were to be wished, better & much easier than if the weather had proved dry & the ground consequently hard.

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My corn being out, or nearly so, I was obliged to have Middling's & ship stuff mixed for bread for my white servants and the latter & rye for my negroes till the new corn is ripe enough to pull.

Thursday — 14th

Mercury at 49 in the Morning 60 at noon — and 56 at night. Wind pretty fresh again today and cool.

At home all day repeating dozes of Bark of which I took 4 with an interval of two hours between — After dinner Messrs Thos and Elliot Lee came in, as did Doctr Craik by desire on a visit to Betty [1] — who had been struck with the palsey — the whole stayed all night.

Finished sowing wheat and Timothy seed on the 10 acre piece of wheat at Muddy hole this day, and also finished that cut with rye adjoining the meadow in the neck, it taking including the 2½ bushels sowed in the piece between the gate and the meadow. —— Bushels.

— On the small piece (sowed with 2½ Bushels) by mistake a bushel of Timothy seed nearly if quite clean was sowed which was at least 6 times as much as ought to have been sown.

Friday — 15th

Mercury at 54 in the Morning, 66 at noon — and 64 at night. Clear, calm, and very plasant.

After breakfast the two Mr. Lees and Doctr Craik went away

I rid to Muddy hole & Neck Plantations Treading out wheat & rye at both retarded fodder getting at the first, & wheat sowing at the other.

Sent my Boat to Alexandria for Molasses & Coffee which had been sent to me from Surinam by a Mr Branden of that place.

Saturday — 16th

Mercury at 58 in the morning, 69 at noon. — and 66 at Night. Morning a little lowering but clear & pleasant afterwards, with but little wind.

Rid to Mr Willm Tripletts in expectation of Meeting Mrs French, in order to get the lease from her — & Deed from Mr Triplett executed but his indisposition & confinement in bed prevented the latter and the non attendance of Mrs French & a misunderstanding with respect to the

[1] See p. 47 note 2, below.

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rent, she conceiving it was to be £150 p^{r} ann. & I £136 only, put an end to the negotiation of the former.

I visited my mill, Ditchers and the Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run, and Muddy hole. At the last, the fodder (top & blade) of the drilled corn was gathered & the sowing of the Rye kept up with the plow — at the first, the same was done with the rye in the newly plowed field and the people had begun (on Thursday) to sow wh^{t} in the drilled corn by the meadow.

On my return home found the Attorney General (Randolph) [1] his Lady & two Children; and Mr Charles Lee here, the last returned to Alexandria after dinner under promise to come down to dinner tomorrow and that he would ask Mr. Herbert Col^{o} Fitzgerald & others to dine here also.

Sunday — 17th

Mercury at 59 in the Morning 68 at noon and 65 at night. Wind fresh at East all day — & very lowering about 5 o'clock it began to rain and continued to do so incessantly the whole night.

Col^{o} Fitzgerald Mr. Herbert, Col^{o} Simms & Mr Ch^{s} Lee, & a Mr Trow (living with Mr Porter.) came down to dinner and were detained all night.

Monday — 18th

Mercury at 62 in the morning 70 at noon and 71 at night. Morning very rainy till about 9 o'clock altho' the wind had got to N^{o} W^{t}.

Mr Randolph, Lady & family and all the Gentlemen from Alexandria left this as soon as the weather cleared, the first on his return to Richmond.

Rid to my Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run & Ferry. Plows, & sowing wheat & other grain stopped at all the places.

In the neck one of the wom^{n} & 2 girls began to gather Pease on Friday last, nearly half on the vines appearing to be ripe. Getting in the Fodder or rather spreading it at Muddy hole being wet that it might dry.

Tuesday — 19th

Mercury at 64 in the morning. 71 at noon, and 70 at night.

Wind at N^{o} West. Clear and pleasant.

Rid to Muddy hole and into the neck, no plowing in corn ground but renewed it at Muddy hole and in the neck for rye on the wheat stubble. began to get fodder in the neck and at Morris's from the drilled corn.

[1] Edmund Randolph (1753–1813) married Elizabeth Nicholas.

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Wednesday — 20th

Mercury 65 in the morning 73 at noon and 70 at night. clear warm and pleasant all day, wind Southerly.

Rid to the ferry, Muddy hole, & Dogue run, at the first the People had begun yesterday, & were at it today, sowing wheat in the drilled Corn by the meadow. The ground especially in places too wet. At the next cutting down tops & securing the first cut fodder, at the latter all except 3 plows which were breaking up more of the lay land were getting fodder, it being too wet to sow wheat in corn ground.

My farmer sowed this day the lay land[1] which had been broken up at this place by his own directions — part of which at the East end adjoining the corn had been plowed days — the other part at the west end also adjoining the corn had been plowed days — The first contns about —— acres; the 2nd about ——.

This wheat was put in in the following manner — viz — sowed on the first plowing, which tho' the ground was well enough broke the sod was not properly turned. In the roughest and heaviest part the seed man was followed by a heavy harrow ye same way as the ground was plowed, in the lighter part by two light harrows, side by side (fastened together) and the whole cross harrowed with the light double harrow to smooth & fill the hollows. — Alongside this I set two plows as above to to break up about acres more of the lay and directed it to be sowed as fast as the lands were finished, & to receive the same harrowings to try (the Land being nearly of the same quality wch method will succeed best.

Thursday — 21st

Mercury at 65 in the Morning 76 at noon — and 74 at night.

But little wind Southerly and warm.

Rid to the plantations in the Neck, Muddy hole, Dogue run, and Ferry — Also to the Ditches. At the first, the flax which was put to Dew rot was turned yesterday, and the fodder which the people began to get yesterday was discontinued today in order to get out oats. At the second finished sowing rye on the wheat stubble, put in 15 Bushels on abt 13 acres. — Securing the fodder which had been cut and pulled at this place, at the 3d gathering fodder & plowing the lay land — and at the last threshing out Rye, & putting in rye in the lay land.

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[1] "Lea-land, lay-land. . . . Fallow land; land 'laid down' to grass" (Oxford English Dictionary).

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Friday — 22d

Mercury at 69 in the Morning 78 at noon and 76 at night.

Calm and very warm in the forenoon, with appearances of rain in the Afternoon, a little of which only fell.

Went to Mr. Tripletts in my way to Alexandria, and got his conveyance before evidences of Manley's land — after which in the same manner in Town obtained the signatures to the Deeds of Mr and Mrs Sanford who were necessarily made parties thereto. Did business with Colo Simm & others and returned home in the evening.

Saturday — 23d

Mercury at 64 in the morning 70 at noon — and 68 at night.

A very heavy fog in the morning, which was dispersed by a Northerly wind which cooled the air a good deal.

Rid to all the plantations between breakfast and dinner, getting fodder at all, and securing it, except at the Ferry where the people had just finished sowing the drilled corn by the meadow which compleated all the corn ground, and all the wheat sowing at this place, Interrupted at the River Plantation in getting Fodder in order to clean Rye & Oats for the House.

In the afternoon Mr. Josh Jones,[1] Mr. Tucker & Lady, Doctr Stuart, Mrs Stuart, Betsey & Patsey Custis[2] came in & stayed all night. My Nephews George & Lawrence (whom I had sent horses for) came down before dinner.[3]

Finished sowing wheat upon the Lay land at Dogue run in the manner proposed, On this —— Bushels was sowed and on the west side —— Bushels.

Sunday — 24th

Mercury at 55 in the morning 59 at noon and 57 at night. Wind at No West & weather clear & cool, Lund & Lauo Washn dined here.

The Company mentioned above remained here all day & night, in the afternoon Colo Bassett,[4] & his Son Burwell arrived — with —— servants and horses.

[1] Joseph Jones of Virginia.

[2] Dr. David Stuart married Eleanor (Calvert) Custis, the widow of Martha Washington's son, John Parke Custis. George Washington Parke Custis, Eleanor Parke Custis, Elizabeth Parke Custis, and Martha Parke Custis, were the children of John Parke Custis.

[3] George Steptoe Washington, Harriott Washington, and Lawrence Washington were the children of Samuel Washington, a brother of George Washington.

[4] Burwell Bassett (*d.* 1793).

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Monday — 25th

Mercury at 50 in the morning 66 at noon — and 64 at night. The Morning & day through was very pleasant, turning warm, the wind getting to the Southward.

Sent Mr Tucker & his Lady to Colchester. — Doctr Stuart Mrs Stuart & family together with Nelly Custis [1] went up to Alexandria. — In the afternoon the Rev. Mr Bryn Fairfax came in and stayed all night.

Began today with my waggon Horses at their leizure moments to plow alternate Lands, at Dogue run, in the Lay Land adjoining the wheat sowed in it to try the difference in Barley (if to be had) or oats next spring between fall & spring plowing.

Tuesday — 26th

Mercury at 58 in the morning, 72 at noon — and 68 at night.

Day clear & very pleasant with the wind at South, towards evening however it began to lower.

Mr & Mrs Lund Washington dined here & returned in the afternoon. At home all this day as I was yesterday.

Mr. Bryan Fairfax went away after breakfast.

Wednesday — 27th

Mercury at 66 in the Morning, 80 at noon and 78 at night. Clear, calm and warm all day.

Colo Bassett his son & George Washington took a ride to Alexandria, I rid into the neck by Muddy hole, to measure a piece of ground intended for corn another year & to new model my fields.

Took up the flax that had been spread to rot at the latter place. Engaged at every plantation in gathering fodder no plow going but at the Ferry for rye.

Put my Rams to the Ewes this day.

Thursday — 28th

Mercury at 69 in the Morning, 81 at noon and 79 at night. Calm, clear, and warm, all day accompanied by Colo Bassett, I rid to the Plantations at Muddy hole, Dogue run and Ferry. Employed in getting & securing Fodder at all of them.

Only, one Ditcher at work at my Mill swamp, the other left it (at least discontinued work) on Tuesday last.

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[1] See p. 47 note 2, above.

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Friday — 29th

Mercury at 67 in the morning, 82 at noon — and 80 at night. Clear, calm, and warm, from morn to evening.

Colo Bassett and Mrs Washington made a mornings visit at Mr Lund Washington's.

I rid by Muddy hole Plantation into the neck — employed at both in gathering & securing Fodder.

The Flax which I thought had been taken up on Wednesday last was still on the ground directed it to be critically examined and taken up this afternoon if it should be found sufficiently rotted.

After dinner Majr Washington and his wife set off for Fredericksburgh — intending as far as Belmont on Occoquan this afternoon.

Saturday — 30th

Mercury at 67 in the morning 78, at noon — and 75 at night. Calm, clear and pleasant all the forenoon, In the Afternoon a light breeze from the eastward.

Rid to the Mill, Meadow and Plantations at the Ferry, Dogue run and Muddy hole. Gathering and securing fodder at all of them, at the last the whole would be gathered, but not secured this evening.

Mr Burwell Bassett Junr left this after Breakfast.

Mr McQuin came here to Dinner & to invite me to the accademical Commencement in Alexandria on Thursday next.

OCTOBER — 1786

Sunday — 1st

Mercury at 68 in the Morning 78 at noon — and 76 at night. The day clear and warm.

Took an early Dinner and set out for Abingdon on my way to the Great Falls to meet the Directors of the Potomack Co Left Doctr Craik at Mt Vernon who came in a few minutes before I set off.

Monday — 2d

Mercury at 67 in the morning 78 at noon and 75 at night Morning lowering, but clear warm, & pleasant afterds.

Set out before six o'clock & arrived at the Great Falls abt half after nine, found Colo Gilpin there & soon after Govrs Johnson & Lee, and Colo Fitzgerald & Mr Potts arrived when the board proceeded to enquire in to the charges exhibited by Mr. James Rumsey the late

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against Mr Richardson Stuart the present Manager of the Companeys business — the examination of the Witnesses employed the board until dark when the members dispersed for lodgings I went to Mr Fairfaxs.

Tuesday — 3d

Mercury at 67 in the Morn'g 79 at noon. 74 at night. Morning somewhat lower'g with Thunder, lightning & rain in the evening.

Returned to the Falls by appointment at 7 o'clock to Breakfast, we proceeded immediately afterwards to a consideration of the evidence and to decide upon each article of charge. a record of which was made & upon the whole appeared (the charges) malignant, envious, & trifling. After this the board settled many acctS and adjourned till 8 o'clock next Morning.

Wednesday — 4th

Mercury at 68 in the morning 78 at noon and 72 at night. Morning clear, and it continued so till near 3 o'clock when it began to rain & continued with but little or no intermission untill past 6. O'clock.

The Board having agreed to a petition to be offered to the Assemblies of VirgA and Maryland for prolonging the time allowed by law for improving the navigation of the river above the Great Falls. Directed the Manager respecting the winter Work for the hands, and having settled and regulated every other matter which came before them, broke up about 3 o'clock. When in Company with Colo Fitzgerald & Gilpin, & Mr Potts I set off home. With much difficulty on acct of the rising of the Water by the rain of last night we crossed Difficult Run and through a constant rain till I had reached Cameron, I got home a little before 8 o'clock where I found my Brother Jno Augs Washington.

Thursday — 5th

Mercury at 70 in the morn'g 72 at noon, and 68 at night. A good deal of rain fell in the night & a great deal in the course of this day (with the wind from the So East & some times very high) which occasioned very high tides, and high freshets. At home all day.

Friday — 6th

Mercury at 62 in the morning, 60 at noon, and 57 at night. Morning clear except scattering clouds, winds high from the westward.

In the Afternoon (having first dined) rid with my Brother to Mr Lund Washington's and returned, found the waters had been exceedingly high.

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Saturday — 7th

Mercury at 52 in the Morning — 58 at night and 56 at night. Morning clear and tolerably pleasant, wind still westerly and pretty fresh. No frost though one was expected from appearances.

Immediately after breakfast my Brother left this, when I rid to all my Plantations. found my People securing fodder in the neck, Dogue run and Ferry. At the last of which the drilled corn by the meadow was untouched. — At Muddy hole the fodder had all been secured on Monday last, and some of the wild Pea vine (such as came from the Eastn Shore) had been pulled — the hands on Tuesday went to assist the Dogue run people to get in their fodder, a suspension of all wch business was had on Wednesday, after noon & all day thursday.

In the neck, the first gathering of 6 rows of drilled pease measured 4¾ bushels, and the first gathering of the next 6 rows planted in rows also but 18 Inches apart in the rows yielded 6½ bushels.

Sunday — 8th

Mercury at 56 in the Morning 60 at night and 57 at night. A brisk southerly wind all day & pleasant.

Mr Rumsey, Mr. Powell and a Mr Patterson an English Gentn dined here & returned in the afternoon.

Monday — 9th

Mercury at 56 in the morning 66 at noon and 60 at night. Clear warm & pleasant, with but little wind.

Rid to all the Plantations & to the Ditchers in my mill swamp. Finished securing Fodder at River quarter — & would nearly do so at Dogue run. — at the Ferry, gathering the Fodder of the drilled corn by the meadow. Pulling pease in the neck with the small hands. allowed all My People to go to the races in Alexandria on one of three days as best comported with their respective business, leaving careful persons on the plantations.

Tuesday — 10th

Mercury at 59 in the morning, 74 at noon and 72 at night.

In company with Major Washington (who with his wife returned yesterday evening from Fredericksburg) and Mr Lear went up to Alexandria to see the Jockey Club purse, run for (which was won by Mr Snickers) dined by invitation with the Members of it and returned home in the evening.

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Wednesday — 11th

Mercury at 60 in the morning 74 at noon. and 73 at night. This day as yesterday, was clear calm, and warm.

Majr Washington, his wife and Nelly & Washington Custis went up to the race at Alexa All but the Major returned to Dinner with Betsy & Patsy Custis along with them.

I rid to all the Plantations, found most of My People had gone to the races, those remaining in the neck were cleaning rye which had been tread out the day before & preparing to continue their wheat sowing tomorrow.

Thursday — 12th

Mercury at 60 in the morning 74 at noon — and 72 at night. Clear, calm, and warm all day, or rather till noon when a breeze from the southward came up.

Rid to all the Plantations, began in the Neck to sow wheat in the Middle cut of drilled corn.

Ferry People all gone to the race and those at home at Dogue run all idle — Overseer being gone to the race.

In the Afternoon Doctr Stuart and his wife, Mr Fitzhugh of Chatham, Mr Presley Thornton,[1] Mr Townshend Dade, and Mr Stith came here, and stayed all night.

Friday — 13th

Mercury at 64 in the Morning 76 at Noon. and 74 at night. Clear, Calm, and very warm, all day. — At night it began to thunder & lighten, accompanied in the course of it with frequent & hard showers.

All the Company except Mrs Stuart went away directly after breakfast. She with Betsy & Patsy Custis did not leave this till after dinner.

Rid to the Ferry, Dogue run, & Muddy hole plantations, and to the Mill and Ditchers. Finished securing the fodder at the Ferry — Tread out a stack of wheat at Dogue run in order to renew my sowing of this grain at that place, — tried here & in the neck to plow before sowing, then sow and harrow in, but it would not answer on the corn ground, the grass occasioned the earth to be drawn in heaps. Began to pull the early corn at Muddy hole.

[1] "Presley Thornton . . . was a British officer during our Revolution, but he would not fight against his country, and therefore went to Gibraltar, and was in Garrison there during its siege by the Spaniards, where it is said he distinguished himself by his gallant behavior" (Washington to C. C. Pinckney, March 31, 1799, in Washington's Writings, xiv. 169). He was a first cousin of Mildred Thornton, who married Charles Washington (brother of George Washington).

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Saturday — 14th

Mercury at 62 in the morning 70 at noon and 68 at night. Morning cloudy but clear afterwards. with the wind at S° West & warm.

Rid to all the Plantations. In the neck found the rain of last night had wet the corn ground so much that there was no plowing in wheat, ordered them to shift to the wheat stubble (where they had formerly been) and plow for Rye. — Finding at the same place that part of the first sowed rye had either not come up, or had been destroyed by some insect, I directed that part of the first cut North of the Meadow, to be sowed over again; and to be harrowed in by the double harrow, if sufficient to cover the grain, at Muddy hole gathering the early corn & husking it. At Dogue run sowing wheat, the ground, in places rather too wet. At the Ferry just finished plowing, sowing & harrowing the ground allotted for Rye at the Ferry, and securing the fodder. Directed, as the fly appeared to be getting into the wheat more or less at all the plantations, that that at the Ferry should be immediately tread out & sent to the mill.

Sunday — 15th

Mercury 65 at Morning — 76 at noon and 74 at night. Clear, warm, & pleasant all day.

Accompanied by Majr Washington his wife Mr Lear & the two Childn Nelly & Washington Custis, went to Pohick Church and returned to Dinner — fell in with on the road. Col° Jn° Mercer, his Lady & Child coming here and their nurse.

Monday — 16th

Mercury at 64 in the morning 72 at noon — and 72 at night. A watery sun in the morning and Clouds in the afternoon but no rain fell till towards day in the night.

Col° Mercer &c. crossed the River after breakfast on their way to Annapolis

Majr Washington & myself went up to Alexandria & dined at Lomax's — Got the deed from Manley's Exrs acknowledged to me in open Court, and for the 2d time agreed with Mr Wm Triplett for the use of Mrs. French's Plantation for wch during Robinsons term and Interest in it, I am, for the the Land & Negroes, to pay £136 & 150£ afterwards, during her life.[1]

Returned home in the evening.

[1] See letter to Triplet in Washington's Writings (ed. Ford), xi. 64.

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Tuesday — 17th

Mercury at 68 in the morning, 64 at noon — and 59 at night.

Wind Southerly and raining till about 9 O'clock when it. chopped round to the So. Wt blew hard & cleared.

At home all day. Began to set a brick kiln.

Wednesddy — 18th

Mercury at 48 in the morning 56 at noon. and 55 at night. Clear & cool wind pretty fresh from the N° West.

Rid by Muddy hole and Dogue run Plantations to Mr. Tripletts. — 3 plows and most of the hands from the first had gone to the latter to assist in sowing wheat in Corn ground.

Having met Mrs French at Mr Tripletts, I concluded the bargain with her for her Plantation & Negroes in my neck and had a Lease executed for the same, and sent word to a Mr. Robertson the present tenant to come to me to see it rcd not engage him to quit it, and coming accordingly some propositions were made to him of which he was to consider till Saturday night or Monday Morning & then give an answer.

Monsr Ouster,[1] French Consul at Williamsburgh, & Mr Lacaze two French Gentlemen dined here & returned to Alexa in the evening.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON made the following communication:

A POEM ON ELECTION DAY IN MASSACHUSETTS ABOUT 1760

The following poem is found in one of two MS commonplace books of Ephraim Eliot, that were presented in 1879 by his son, John Fleet Eliot, to his cousin Samuel Eliot (1821–1898). These commonplace books contain a miscellaneous assortment of personal accounts, anecdotes, gossip, satirical poems, memoirs, and other matter that seemed worth recording to a man of an inquiring mind and antiquarian tastes.

Ephraim Eliot (1761–1827) was the fifth son and tenth child of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot (1718–1778, H. C. 1737, pastor of the New North Church in Boston) and brother of the Rev. John Eliot, author of the Biographical Dictionary. He graduated from Harvard College in 1780 and studied medicine for a time, but decided to be-

[1] The Sieur Oster is given in the Massachusetts Almanac for 1785 as the French Vice-Consul at Virginia.

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come an apothecary. An advertisement in the Independent Chronicle of November 20, 1783, informs the public that Ephraim Eliot "has just opened at his Shop, in Union Street, next to Mr. Condy's — A general Assortment of Drugs and Medicines, Chymical and Galenical," etc.[1] *Dr.* Eliot, as he was called by courtesy, was a well-known figure in Federalist Boston; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, author of "Historical Notices of the New North Religious Society," and a frequent office holder under the town and city governments. He was noted for the whimsical humor of his advertisements, in which he not only satirized the pedantry and pretension of the medical profession, but humorously warned the public against the very wares he was advertising. For instance, one announcement states that Ephraim Eliot "supplies the sick and those who think themselves so, with such articles as their physicians direct, or their fancy dictates; . . . He has always on hand a large assortment of Patent Medicines, whose virtues and uses are daily expatiated upon in the newspapers, and need no repetition — comprising almost the whole circle of *quackery*, and calculated for the cure of the itch, the destruction of worms, and *the extirpation of doctors.*" In an advertisement of a certain "Spice Bitters" which he kept on hand, this honest apothecary remarked that they were equally serviceable for lack of appetite and indigestion, for chills and heat prostration, and concludes with the statement that they are "a capital apology for taking a dram at any time!" When a new Pharmacopœia was published in 1809, with an English translation of the Latin names, Dr. Eliot publicly expressed his approval, but added "Should it however happen that orders be presented under a full display of '*the mysticism of the medical profession*' . . . even though conveyed in Greek or Latin, Mr. Eliot will endeavor to decipher them; and he will certainly engage not to '*screen his ignorance . . . under the wilful misinterpretation of a language which is truly dead to him.*'"[2]

[1] His shop and residence were afterwards moved to Hanover Street, where he was a near neighbor and friend of Mr. Edes's great-grandfather, Nathan Webb (1767–1853), who was a parishioner of Dr. Andrew Eliot. Mr. Edes informs me that this well-known Massachusetts name was at that time pronounced "Ellit."

[2] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 502 note; Boston Transcript, June 4, 1869. The Doctor was quoting a review of the new Pharmacopœia in the Monthly Anthology.

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"Election Day" or "General Election Day," described in the following poem, took place annually on the last Wednesday in May from 1693, the first regular election under the Province Charter, to the adoption of the constitutional amendment of 1831. Officially, it corresponded to what we should to-day call the Governor's Inauguration. Both the name and the season, carry us back to the earliest days of the Colony, and are a link with the corporate origin of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The so-called Colony Charter of 1628–9 provided that the Governor and other officers of the Company be chosen in the Great and General Court of the Company to be holden on the last Wednesday in "Easter term."[1] This was in accordance with the general practice for electing officers in English joint-stock corporations.

After the Charter was transferred to the soil of Massachusetts Bay, in 1630, and a representative system was evolved, the annual meeting of freemen to choose officers became differentiated from the meeting of the General Court on the same day. The freemen's meeting became known as the Court of Elections,[2] and its day of meeting as Election Day.[3] An examination of the dates of Election Day under the Colony Charter shows that, with only one exception, it fell on the prescribed date, which varied between April 29 and June 2, according to the date of Easter.[4] In view of our forefathers' distaste for "popish" anniversaries, this fact is somewhat surprising. Possibly, since they were exceeding or violating many of the more important provisions of their charter, they thought

[1] The Easter term of the English law-courts lasted from the Wednesday fortnight after Easter to the Monday after Ascension Day. The last Wednesday in Easter term was, therefore, the day before Ascension Day, which always falls on a Thursday; and thirty-nine days after Easter Sunday. (John J. Bond, Handy-Book of Rules for Verifying Dates, 4th ed., p. 174.)

[2] This term is first applied in the Colony Records (i. 194) to the Easter term meeting of 1637, and in Winthrop's Journal (1853, ii. 157) to that of 1634.

[3] It is referred to as "the yearly day of election" in an act of 1647 (Charters and General Laws of Massachusetts Bay, 1814, p. 105), and in several subsequent enactments of the General Court.

[4] Dr. C. F. Bishop errs in stating, in his History of Elections in the American Colonies, p. 102, that "after 1632 the regular election took place on the second Wednesday in May." I have compared the dates of the fifty-three courts of elections under the Colony Charter with the calendar, and find that only in one instance (1652) was Election Day held on a different date from the last Wednesday in Easter term. On that occasion (1652) it was held the day after.

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it best to be circumspect regarding minor details. One can imagine Thomas Dudley or John Endecott with a wry face searching an English almanac for the date of Easter Sunday, in order to compute the proper date for his annual summons to a Court of Elections.

From 1632, when the freemen of the Company asserted their right to choose the Governor as well as the Assistants, to the last election under the Colony Charter in 1686, the day of the Court of Elections was, in fact, the Election Day of Massachusetts for all elective officers but the Deputies. Voting by proxy was permitted as early as 1636, when the spread of settlement made it unsafe and inconvenient for all freemen to attend the Court of Elections at Boston or Newtowne. But the normal method of exercising the franchize was to attend the Court of Elections on Election Day. Moreover, the proxies of those freemen who did not attend were not counted beforehand, but delivered, sealed, to the magistrates, and opened and counted by them before the Court of Elections.[1] The freemen were tenacious of their right of voting in person at Boston, for they resisted every attempt of the General Court to simplify elections by making voting by proxy compulsory.[2] As soon as the votes were counted, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants then elected took their oaths of office and began the exercise of their functions. The annual election sermons were established at an early date.[3] Naturally Election Day, with its concourse of freemen and important ceremonies, became, as it were, the national holiday of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It filled the very human need, felt by the Puritans in spite of themselves, for a spring festival like May Day.

The Province Charter of 1691, which went into force the following year, designated the last Wednesday in May as the "general day of election,"[4] or Election Day. It is a Provincial

[1] Bishop, 128–32.

[2] Bishop, 130–32; Winthrop, ii. 379. An act of October, 1680, following one of the unsuccessful attempts to abolish direct voting, prescribes that all freemen who have not voted by proxy appear "on the election day . . . at the court house by eight of the clock in the morning, to bring in their votes as aforesaid" (Charters and General Laws, 1814, p. 108).

[3] See Mr. Swift's article on Massachusetts Election Sermons (Publications of this Society, i. 388).

[4] Charters and General Laws, p. 29; Publications of this Society, ii. 20. The Province Charter does not expressly require that the Councillors, and the

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Election Day that our poem describes. "Upon every last Wednesday in the month of May," during the Provincial period, the legislative year commenced, the members of the General Court took their seats and elected the Council, and the House of Representatives chose its Speaker and its Clerk. No function was left for the freemen to perform on Election Day, since the choice of Representatives or Deputies — the only elective power retained in their hands, under the Province Charter — was made at an earlier date. But the inaugural ceremonies, the pomp and circumstance attending a royal governor, and the popular interest in the choice of Councillors and Speaker, continued to attract large numbers of people to the provincial metropolis; and Election Day increased in importance as a popular festival. Election Week was chosen for the annual conventions and meetings of churches and other societies,[1] and on the Monday following Election Day came "Artillery Election," the annual choice of a commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

The Constitution of 1780 preserved the Provincial date — the last Wednesday in May — for the formal beginning of the legislative year, and even restored to the General Court which assembled at that time one of the former functions of the Colonial Court of Elections. Chapter II, Section I, Article III, requires that on the last Wednesday in May the Secretary of the Commonwealth shall lay the selectmen's returns of votes for Governor before Senate and House, "to be by them examined; and in case of an election by a majority of all the votes returned, the choice shall be by them declared and published; but if no person shall have a majority of votes, the house of representatives shall, by ballot, elect two out of four

Speaker and the Clerk of the House, be chosen on Election Day, but our associate Mr. Matthews has established, from the examination of Boston newspapers and other sources, that such was the practice. The election of Speaker on Election Day was made obligatory by the Explanatory Charter of 1725 (Publications of this Society, ii. 31). Councillors were chosen, it will be remembered, not by the Representatives (Deputies) alone, but by the entire General Court, consisting of Royal Governor, outgoing Council, and House of Representatives. In the newspapers of the Provincial period Election Day is also referred to as "The Anniversary Day for the Election of Counsellors" (e. g., Boston News Letter, June 4, 1711, and May 31, 1733; and cf. p. 59 note 2, below).

[1] H. A. Hill, History of the Old South Church, i. 362.

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persons who had the highest number of votes . . .; and make return to the senate of the two persons so elected; on which the senate shall proceed, by ballot, to elect one, who shall be declared governor." [1]

Since, under the State and Federal Constitutions, there were separate election days for governor and state senators, for state representatives, and for members of Congress and presidential electors, the popular title for the last Wednesday in May was changed from Election Day to General Election Day, and the prescribed ceremonies of inauguration, vote counting, etc.; became known as General Election.[2] The following poem explains another popular synonym — "Nigger 'Lection."

The day retained its unique place as an annual State festival until 1831. The adoption that year of the tenth article of amendment to the State Constitution altered the commencement of the legislative year to its present date, the first Wednesday in January. The glories of Election Day then departed. January was an unpropitious month for outdoor festivities, and organizations which were accustomed to hold their annual meetings in Election Week, refused to shift the date.[2] An Election Sermon was annually delivered, on the first Wednesday in January, until 1885. But in the present inaugural ceremonies of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, only the fact that they recur annually on a Wednesday remains to remind us that King Charles I "did establish and ordain," in the cumbrous phraseology of the Colony Charter, "that yearley, once in the yeare, for ever hereafter, namely, the last Wednesday in Easter tearme, yearley, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants of the said Company and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe, in the Generall court or assembly to be held for that day or tyme, newly chosen for the yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the said Company, for the tyme being, then and there present, as is aforesaide."

[1] This occurred in 1785, and in 1806 there was a prolonged contest in the General Court over counting the votes. (W. Burdick, Massachusetts Manual for 1814–15, pp. 26–28; 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xx. 12–21.)

[2] The former Election Week, under the new title of Anniversary Week, continued to attract to Boston the annual swarms of longfaced, black-coated brethren from country pulpits that so annoyed Dr. Holmes, and suggested his poem "The Moral Bully." Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 45–46.

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A DESCRIPTION OF AN ELECTION DAY, AS OBSERVED IN BOSTON.[1]

1.

When Nature smiles in vernal bloom
Emerg'd from winters horrid gloom,
And Maia decks the ground,
When Sol just quits the bull, & shines
Progressive in the heavenly twins,
Walking th' Ecliptic round.

2.

When Virgins quit their winter Hue
And living blood begins to flow,
Along their azure veins;
When pliant as the vine, they bend,
And joyfully do condescend
To put on Cupids chains.

3.

A certain time we then behold,
Long by the Almanac foretold
And call'd Election day;
A day of frolicking and mirth,
In that small portion of the earth
The Massachusetts bay.

4.

The city swarms with every sort
Of black and white, and every sort
Of high, low, rich and poor;
Squaws, negroes, deputies in scores
And ministers & Counsellors
Are seen at every door.

5.

Long before phoebus looks upon
The outskirts of the horison,
The blacks their forces summon.
Tables & benches, chairs, & stools
Rum-bottles, Gingerbread & bowls
Are lug'd into the common.

[1] Author not known. [E. E.'s note.]

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6.

Thither resorts a motley crew,
Of Whites & Blacks & Indians too
And Trulls of every sort.
There all day long they sit & drink,
Swear, sing, play paupaw,[1] dance and stink
There Bacchus holds his court.

7.

But yonder comes a scarlet throng,
Marching in solemn state along
His Excellencys guard — [2]
Who after friendly mutual greeting
Conduct him to the old Brick meeting,[3]
To sit & hear the word.

8.

This discipline they soon dispatch,
Unless Tom Frink [4] should chance to speak,
Then down they hurry all
With Quicken'd pace & hungry guts
Like flies, unto the Honey pots
To dine at Fanueil Hall.

9.

There through the wide-extended doors
Pass deputies & Councillors,
And parsons with their bands on,
There, quick they seize upon their seats,
And every one sits down & eats
What first he lays his hands on.

[1] "The game of Paw-paw, or props, was played with four small shells, known to naturalists as the *Cyprœa Moneta*, and was one of the gambling games much practiced by the boys of Boston" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 46). Cf. Mary C. Crawford, Social Life in Old New England, p. 431; Oxford English Dictionary, under "Prop, *sb.*[4]."

[2] Cadets. [E. E.'s note.]

[3] The Old Brick, which was the third meeting-house of the First Church, stood from 1713 to 1808 in Cornhill Square.

[4] Noted for long sermons. [E. E.'s note.] The Rev. Thomas Frink (H. C. 1722), preached the Election Sermon of 1758. (Cf. Publications of this Society, i. 420.) This allusion fixes the approximate date of the poem.

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10.

And after they have clear'd the Dishes
They keep their seats & drink like fishes
Till four o'clock and after.
Then to the Town house trot away
To do the business of the day,
According to the charter.

11.

Meanwhile throughout the joyful town,
King Georges health is toasted round,
And every face looks gay.
With jocund mirth each house abounds
The echoing air repeats the sounds
Time sweetly flows away.

12.

But night at length invests the skies,
And Sol, to lend us light denies.
Then some go staggering home.
While sleep begins *our* eyes to lock,
The watchman cries, "past twelve o'clock"
And silence reigns alone.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

On September 15, 1786, Washington sent his boat to Alexandria for "Molasses & Coffee which had been sent to me from Surinam by a M[r] Branden of that place."[1] I find among my notes references to two celebrations at Surinam of Washington's birthday. One was on February 11, 1792;[2] the other in February, 1799, on which occasion a song written "by a gentleman of Baltimore" was sung.[3]

[1] P. 44, above.

[2] Columbian Centinel, July 7, 1792, p. 2/4, where the toasts offered are printed.

[3] The song was printed in the Massachusetts Mercury of May 24, 1799, p. 4/1, preceded by the following:

Messrs. YOUNG & MINNS,

The following, though far from perfect, may have sufficient merit to entitle it to publication. It was written at Surinam, a few days previous to the last anniversary of the Birth of the American Hero.

Yr's. A SEA CAPTAIN.

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Professor Robinson's communication makes pertinent the following extract from the Massachusetts Magazine for January, 1789:

Curious Irish Advertisement, from the Londonderry Journal, Feb. 30, 1783.

WHEREAS on February the 14th, 1783, it pleased kind Providence to confer on Matthew Neely, of Burnally, parish of Tamlaghtfinlagan, and county of Londonderry, a man child, whose appearance is promising and amiable, and hopes the being who first caused him to exist, will grant him grace: Also, in consideration and in remembrance of the many heroick deeds done by that universally renowned patriot, General Washington, the said Matthew Neely hath done himself the honour of calling the said man child by the name of *George Washington Neely*, he being the first child known or so called in this kingdom by the name of Washington, that brilliant western star (i. 62).

Three years ago I spoke of the celebration of Washington's birthday in 1796 by the students of Harvard College.[1] To the suggestion then made that the students had little enthusiasm and that the patriotism was pumped up for the occasion, I replied that the stilted language of that day might give a wrong impression and that the early hour at which the boys went to their chambers was due not to inclination but to necessity. However, the spontaneity of the celebration on the part of the students is placed beyond doubt by the following entry in the Faculty Records under date of February 22, 1796:

The request of the Students to illuminate the windows of their Chambers, this evening, in commemoration of the birth of the illustrious President of the United States was communicated: Whereupon,

1. Voted that in consideration of particular circumstances existing at the present time, permission be given; but that this permission shall not be construed into a precedent, in any future time.

2. Voted, that the candles be lighted at seven, and be extinguished at nine o'clock; and that during the illumination, one, at least, of the occupants be in each chamber.

3. Voted, that no violence be offered to open the chamber of an absent Student (vi. 304).

[1] Publications, xiv. 199–201.

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In 1797 there was apparently no attempt to celebrate the day at Cambridge, either privately or publicly. But in 1798 the day was privately observed, as shown by the following newspaper account:

CAMBRIDGE.

The sons of our *University* never let slip any opportunity to do honor to the character they so much admire. In one of the circles met to celebrate the birth day of the *Hero of Mount-Vernon*, among other toasts were the following.

1. GEORGE WASHINGTON, a man brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, and virtuous without severity. 3 *cheers in pantomime, for fear of disturbing the Tutor.*

2. JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States, the American *Terminus.** 3 cheers in pantomime, &c.

3. *Thomas Jefferson,* May he exercise his elegant literary talents for the benefit of the world, in some retreat, secure from the troubles and dangers of political life.

4. The Senate, the Speaker of the House, and 53 of its members.[1]

5. The constituted authorities of this University; may the government of *our own choice,* never be assailed by *Jacobinism.*

* Terminus *was the God of boundaries, among the Romans, who* swore he would not stir an inch for Jupiter.[2]

In 1799 the students again applied for permission to celebrate publicly, with the result recorded in the Faculty Records under date of February 18, 1799:

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[1] The allusion is to Congress, not to the Massachusetts Legislature. One of the toasts given at the celebration at Concert Hall, Boston, on the same day was this: "The Hon. ROGER GRISWOLD, and the fifty-two *Gentlemen* in Congress: — May their exertions to rid the National Legislature of a beastly character, be remembered by their constituents" (Columbian Centinel, February 24, 1798, p. 2/4). Matthew Lyon of Vermont had insulted Roger Griswold of Connecticut and had used an indecent expression. On February 12th a resolution for expelling Lyon was voted on, and "The Speaker then declared the Yeas to be 52 and the Nays 44, and as the Constitution requires two thirds of the Members present to expel a Member, the Resolution was not agreed to" (Columbian Centinel, February 21, p. 2/2). The Speaker of the House was Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey. For a reference to Lyon, see Publications of this Society, xvii. 311 note 1.

[2] Columbian Centinel, February 24, 1798, pp. 2/3.

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A request of the Students for permission to illuminate the windows of their chambers the next Friday evening, in commemoration of the birth of the illustrious General Washington, who has again, at the call of his country, undertaken the command of its Forces in its defence, was communicated: And after mature deliberation,

Voted, that in consideration of particular circumstances, existing at the present time, permission be given; but that permission shall not be construed into a precedent in any future time.

Voted, that the candles be lighted at seven, and be extinguished at nine o'clock; and that during the illumination, one at least of the occupants be in each chamber.

Voted that the chambers of absent Students may be illuminated, provided that the keys are obtained, and that certain Students, who have no chambers of their own to illuminate, will engage to take the charge of them severally, in the same manner, as each occupant takes care of his own chamber, and that the names of such Students, with the numbers of the chambers committed to them respectively, be returned to the Officers of the respective entries, previous to the time of illumination, by the Committee who made application for leave to illuminate.

Voted, that no Student be allowed to put into a window more candles than half the number of panes in it.

Voted, that the Tutors and Librarian be desired to see that the windows be prepared for illumination in such a manner, that no damage may be likely to ensue (vii. 55–56).

The Massachusetts Mercury of February 22d remarked:

At *Harvard University*, the Children of Science, who, with few exceptions are united in the defence of our Government, will honor the blessed day, by Associating at a convivial Entertainment, and illuminating the Colleges (p. 2/4).

In the Columbian Centinel of February 23d appeared this notice:

At *Cambridge* the Students of Harvard College, grateful for the favours conferred on their country by one of its most illustrious Guardians, evinced their feelings by every suitable demonstration of genuine hilarity; the ardency of which may be estimated by the following notice, which was yesterday morning posted at the Chapel doors: — "THE NATAL DAY. *The Students of Harvard College are cautioned against purchasing Candles of John Brown and Stacey Read, to be used in their intended illumination this evening, in honor of the patriot* WASHINGTON; *as the candle of a Jacobin is fit only to be put under a bushel. God save the United States*" (p. 2/3).

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The Massachusetts Mercury of February 26th said:

AT CAMBRIDGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, Is famous for its federal sentiments, . . . In the day time flags were displayed on the buildings and the colleges were beautifully illuminated in the evening, accompanied with devices expressive of their veneration for *Adams* and *Washington*. The illuminations commenced at 7 o'clock, and by a quarter past 9, there was not a light to be seen in any of the colleges. Every thing was conducted with an order and tranquility highly honorable to all the young gentlemen (p. 2/3).

The Mercury then gave the "classical and pithy toasts" which were "drank by a select company of the sons of science." From the Columbian Centinel of February 27th is obtained the following account:

BIRTH-DAY MEMORANDA.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

We mentioned in our last, that the natal day of *WASHINGTON* would be worthily noticed at this Seat of Science and Patriotism. All the Colleges were brilliantly illuminated — suitable devices exhibited; and the following sentiments toasted: —

1st. GENERAL WASHINGTON, "*clarum, et venerabile nomen.*"

2d. PRESIDENT ADAMS, the pride of this University.

3d. —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —, —. Hiatus valde deflendus.[1]

4th. That distinguished son of Cambridge, TIMOTHY PICKERING. May he still continue to fix his watchful eye on "*the crouching Tyger.*"

5th. The English *Language*, may it be understood thro'-out every part of the terraqueous globe.

6th. The *Roman Father*, who prevented the servitude and dishonor of *Virginia*.

7th. The constituted authorities of our *Alma Mater*.

8th. Fihes, rustications, expulsion and *suspension* to every seditious citizen, or intriguing Alien.[2]

9th. May Jacobinism still remain degraded to the very bottom of the class of American society (p. 2/4).

[1] Thomas Jefferson was then Vice-President.

[2] The Alien and Sedition Acts had been passed by Congress in 1798.

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Two of these toasts deserve comment. The fourth is an allusion to a report dated January 18, 1799, in which Pickering, speaking of the French government, said:

> Warmly professing its desire of reconciliation, it gives no evidence of its sincerity; but proofs in abundance demonstrate that it is not sincere. For standing erect, and in that commanding attitude requiring implicit obedience, — cowering, it renounces some of its unfounded demands. But I hope we shall remember "that the tyger crouches before he leaps upon his prey." [1]

In connection with this toast, it may be of interest to mention an episode that occurred on Commencement Day, July 18, 1798. Five days before that Washington had accepted his appointment by President Adams as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief, and our relations with France were strained almost to the breaking point. President Willard was "confined by a painful disorder," and the Rev. Dr. Simeon Howard presided over the exercises. These were duly carried out, with two exceptions, as stated by President Willard himself:

> N. B. Two of the Exercises, which had been assigned by the Government to the Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, were not performed on Commencement day,
>
> The one — A conference upon Water, Air, Heat and Light, . . .
>
> The other — "A French dialogue upon Natural History." — Between Perez Lincoln and Robert Thaxter.
>
> The public mind at the time of Commencement was so much exasperated against the French Government on account of their conduct towards the United States, that there was danger that any, who should speak in the French language, would be insulted. The College Government therefore thought it best that this part should be omitted.[2]

The eighth toast mentions the College punishments of fines, rustication, expulsion, and suspension; while the ninth toast is that Jacobinism may "still remain *degraded* to the bottom of the class of American society." Under the old system of "placing," the highest

[1] State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States (Wait, Boston), iii. 415. I am indebted to our associate Dr. Morison for this reference. Cf. Publications of this Society, xvii. 326. Pickering's report was printed in the supplement to the Columbian Centinel of February 6, 1799.

[2] Faculty Records, vii. 33, 34.

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punishment next to expulsion was "degradation" — or degrading a student below the place in his class to which he had been originally assigned. This system came to an end with the Class that entered in 1768, that was "placed" in June, 1769, and that was graduated in 1772, though the members of that Class retained their places until graduation. With the abolition of this system after 1769 and its total disappearance in 1772, one might naturally conclude that the punishment of degradation fell with the system. But, curiously enough, such was not the case; for, like the wily Ulysses, the College authorities were fertile in resources. The punishment of degradation was no doubt too valuable an asset to be discarded without a struggle, and the authorities showed some ingenuity in retaining it by degrading a student below his alphabetical place. The fact that after 1772 degradation still remained among the punishments does not appear to be generally known.[1] On December 22, 1788, a student was degraded to the bottom of his class, and not restored until December 20, 1790. On October 17, 1789, a student was degraded ten places, but was restored on July 8, 1790. These happen to be the latest cases I have noted in the Faculty Records, but the above toast shows that the punishment was still in vogue as late as 1799.

[1] The only allusion to it known to me is in an article On Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October, 1893, ix. 34–59) by our associate Professor Franklin B. Dexter, whose attention was called to it by the late William H. Tillinghast.

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MARCH MEETING, 1915

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 March, 1915, at three o'clock in the afternoon, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK and the Hon. WINSLOW WARREN, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. EDWARD CHANNING and Mr. EDWARD BANGS DREW, both of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, of Champaign, Illinois, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a paper on Proprietors of Massachusetts Townships, in which he traced the evolution of Commoners or Proprietors from the early days of the Colony, when they constituted the original settlers and grantees of a given township, to the end of the Province period, when they had become absentee landlords and land speculators, frequently engaged in agrarian disputes with the actual settlers.

Mr. E. P. MERRITT exhibited three news-letters of English origin, two of the year 1664 and one of 1665; and spoke as follows:

These news-letters, forwarded by Joseph Williamson [1] to Sir Richard Fanshawe, are presented for the consideration of the Society

[1] For a notice of Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), who was knighted January 24, 1672, see the Dictionary of National Biography.

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rather on account of their antiquarian interest than for any historical value which they may possess, to us at least. However, they have already been printed either wholly or in part, in a report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission which consists almost entirely of the correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Ambassador from Charles II to the Courts of Portugal and Spain. Of the five written news-letters and four autograph letters, sent by Williamson to Fanshawe, contained in that report,[1] three of the news-letters and two of the autograph letters are now exhibited. At the time they were written Williamson was secretary to Henry Bennett, Lord Arlington (one of the two Secretaries of State), Keeper of the King's Library at Whitehall, and Keeper of the Office of His Majesty's Papers and Records. The several clerks in the Paper Office, under the supervision of Williamson's chief clerk and deputy, were employed in copying and sending out these news-letters to subscribers, and to persons residing in the various English ports who reciprocated with news items from their part of the country.[2] The letters were sent out three times a week and were commonly either "long letters" containing the news of a week, or "short letters" giving the news for two days only. The subscribers as a rule paid £5 a year for the full service.[3]

Notwithstanding the prevalence of printed news-sheets at that time, the last half of the seventeenth century was a period of great activity in written news-letters and these were on the whole of more interest and value than the printed sheets.[4] The reason was a very

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[1] Report on the Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote, Esq. of Conington Castle, Co. Hunts (1899), pp. 88–89, 144–147, 148–150, 150–152, 170–171, 191–192, 194–195.

[2] "Many news letters were sent to Fanshawe by this indefatigable collector [Williamson], who, while gathering materials from far and wide for his Gazette was always willing to provide entertainment for his friends, and who gives many items of gossip not mentioned by either Pepys or Evelyn" (Report on the Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote, p. xxiv).

[3] Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cologne in the years 1673–1674 (Camden Society, 1874), ii. 161.

[4] "There is a complete collection of his [Henry Muddiman's] news letters from 29 April, 1667 to 12 October, 1689 in the Marquis of Bath's library at Longleat. Their dates are on alternate days and they are contained in fourteen folio volumes, . . . This collection of some thousands of consecutive news letters by

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simple one. The printed news was both licensed and rigidly censored; the written news was exempt from both restrictions and consequently could cover a wider range of interests. The news-letters are in miniature a very fair prototype of the modern newspaper, containing Parliamentary news, reports of criminal trials, of cases of conspiracy and non-conformity, and of libel suits, news of shipping, both domestic and foreign, war reports, and even society items.

The history of the terms employed to designate the written and the printed news is of some interest. At the time when these letters were written, 1664–1665, the term news-letter was not in existence. In the endorsements on the letters themselves by the recipient they are variously referred to as a "Written Dyurnall," "written Gazett," and "Intelligence." In Williamson's autograph letter dated Whitehall May 14, 1663, he refers to the "packett of occurrences which goes with this." Newspaper and news-letter appear at about the same time, though apparently "news-letter" was developed as a complement to "newspaper" and served to differentiate the written from the printed sheet.

The earliest citation in the Oxford English Dictionary of "news-letter" is 1674, while "newspaper" is found in 1670. Prior to this time the printed sheets were known as "news-books," 1652. The "diurnal" was still earlier, 1640, while "courant" or "corante" and "gazette" are found in 1621, and this last term leads back to the earliest form "gazetti" in 1605, which clearly indicates the Continental origin of the word. The early gazettes supplied foreign news only, while domestic news and particularly Parliamentary reports first appeared in the "diurnals" in 1641.[1]

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a portrait of Sir Joseph Williamson.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a copy of the Treaty of

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one person is quite unique, and considering his privileged position, should be of high value when calendared" (J. B. Williams, The Newsbooks and Letters of News of the Restoration, in the English Historical Review, 1908, xxiii. 275–276).

[1] J. B. Williams, History of English Journalism to the foundation of the Gazette (1908), p. 3.

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Peace in America between James II and Louis XIV, in 1686, printed in London the same year; and spoke as follows:

I have brought for inspection to-day a copy of an apparently rare pamphlet containing an old treaty of our colonial days, which has been called a Treaty of Neutrality. Its title runs:

Treaty Of Peace, Good Correspondence & Neutrality in America, Between the most Serene and Mighty Prince James II. By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. And the most Serene and Mighty Prince Lewis XIV. The Most Christian King: Concluded the 16th Day of Novemb. 1686. Published by His Majesties Command. Printed by Thomas Newcomb in the Savoy. 1686.[1]

It provided that no ships or vessels shall be fitted out or employed by either king against the other and that no soldiers of either shall be employed against the other, and that both kings shall retain "to themselves all the Dominion, Rights and Pre-eminences in the *American Seas*, Roads, and other Waters whatsoever, . . . in such manner as they now possess the same." "The King of *Great Britain's* Subjects shall not direct their Commerce and Trade, nor Fish in the Havens, Bays, Creeks, Roads, Shoars, or Places which the most Christian King holdeth, or shall hereafter hold in *America*; and in like manner the most Christian King's Subjects shall not direct their Commerce and Trade, nor Fish in the Havens, Bays, Creeks, Roads, Shoars, or Places which the King of *Great Britain* possesseth, or shall hereafter possess in *America*." The penalty provides for the confiscation of the vessel and cargo, the offence having been proved, with an appeal to the Council of State of the King, whose governors have sentenced the vessel. When the subjects of either of the kings with their shipping are "forced through stress of Weather, persuit of Pyrates and Enemies, or any other urgent Necessity, for the seeking of Shelter and Harbour, to retreat and enter into any of the Rivers, . . . belonging to the other in *America*, they shall be received and treated there with all Humanity and Kindness, and enjoy all friendly Pro-

[1] The pamphlet consists of twenty pages: title, 1 leaf; Treaty, pp. 3–19; advertisement, p. [20].

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tection and Help." They shall also provide themselves with rates and victuals as well as be permitted to repair their ships. They can leave freely, but they must not try to trade or fish, under penalty of confiscation. Signals are arranged for, so that they may be recognized as friendly, when entering port. Should vessels ground or be wrecked, they shall receive proper assistance. Should three or four enter together, they shall immediately report, and shall leave as soon as possible, after taking on provisions or making repairs. Subjects of Great Britain, "inhabiting the Island of St. *Christophers*, may fetch Salt from the Salt-Ponds there, and carry the same away," and the French of that island may enter the "Rivers of the great Road" to provide themselves with water, on condition that the salt must be loaded and the water taken in the day time only. The subjects of either nation shall not harbor "the Barbarous or Wild Inhabitants, or the Slaves or Goods, which the said Inhabitants have taken from the Subjects of the other Nation." Civil and military officers, as well as those who set out private men of war must not do injury or damage to the other. Commanders of private men of war must give sufficient security, which is specified, that they will give full satisfaction for any damages or injuries which they shall commit in their courses at sea contrary to "this present Treaty or any other whatsoever." The governors and officers of both kings shall give no assistance or protection to any pirates of what nation soever, or allow them any retreat in the ports of either; and they are commanded "to punish, as Pirats, all such, who shall Arm out any Ship or Ships for Privateering, without lawful Commission and Authority," or shall ask or take "Letters of Mart for arming any ship or ships to go Privateering in *America*." The French shall have full liberty to fish for turtles in the Islands of Cayman. This Treaty is not to conflict with the Treaty of Breda (July 21–31, 1667). All treaties heretofore made between the said nations upon the Island of St. Christophers, or elsewhere in America, shall be in force, as formerly. This Treaty is to be ratified and confirmed as soon as may be, and "the Ratifications thereof shall within the space of two Months from the date of these Presents be reciprocally exchanged between both Parties: And within the space of eight Months, or sooner if it may be, be published in all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Colonies, as well in *America* as elsewhere, of both the Kings."

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This Treaty was only an incident in the long, exhaustive, and intermittent warfare between the French and English for the possession of a vast disputed territory in America, which culminated in the taking of Quebec by the English, under Wolfe, in 1759. In the course of this warfare, the Indians were exploited by both nations, and were the principal sufferers in the end.

While other parts of America were involved and suffered in the conflict of the two nations, New York seems to have been the principal battle ground. The English claimed all the territory south and south-west of Lakes Ontario and Erie, extending toward the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, as well as the country of the Hurons and the regions beyond. For good reasons, the French disputed the claim, but what was most desired by both was the trade of the Indians. In 1674, New York had been surrendered to the English, for the second time, and the authority of the Duke of York restored.

The able and impetuous Frontenac had in 1672 arrived at Quebec, where, as Governor, he quarrelled with his fellow officials, and discord and disorder reigned throughout his stay in Canada. In 1682 he was recalled and replaced by La Barre. On August 28, 1683, Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irishman and a Catholic, arrived in New York, and succeeded Andros as Governor. The French expected some sympathy from him, because of his religious affiliations, but he was loyal, able, and vigorous in the performance of his duties. The friendship of the Mohawks was encouraged and an alliance was made with the Iroquois, which served to check the activities of the French.

Dissentions were rife among the French; La Salle had built a fort on the Illinois and the Iroquois were quarrelling with the Illinois. A messenger was sent to Onondaga to assert the claim of the French, but he was unsuccessful. Lamberville, a Jesuit, who resided among the Indians, wrote that the Indians had prepared for any emergency, but in 1684, La Barre was in full campaign, with a large force, and with the purpose to exterminate the Senecas. At Fort Frontenac, many of his soldiers became sick and the few who reached La Famine, on the opposite side of the Lake, were in a serious condition. A council was held with the Indians, which resulted in a treaty which was a truce rather than a treaty. Baron La Hontan accompanied

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this expedition and has left a good account of it. La Barre was somewhat consoled for his failure, by a letter from the Jesuit, Lamberville, which eulogized him as the savior of the expedition by making peace. While La Barre failed to gain control of the Indians, either by threats or negotiations, Dongan gained a written submission of the Indians to the English and notified Canada that they were under his protection. During 1684 the Indians brought the English to the Lakes for trade, which much disturbed the French, who feared their competition. La Barre being unable to protect the Indians hostile to the Iroquois, he lost their respect. The same year, La Barre sent a message to Dongan, to complain of the Senecas, which he promptly gave to the Indians, who became attached to the English, as the latter supplied them with cheap merchandise and warlike stores.

La Barre was succeeded in 1685 by the Marquis de Denonville, a pious Colonel of Dragoons. Much was expected from him and that he would restore the prosperity of the colony. He was devoted to the Jesuits and a strong supporter of the king. His instructions were to humble the Iroquois, assist the allies of the French and oppose Dongan, if he encroached upon French territory.

Dongan, meanwhile, gained control of the Iroquois by promises, presents, etc., so that Denonville readily saw that a severe defeat of the Iroquois was absolutely necessary to restore the prestige of the French, but Dongan kept the Indians informed of the designs of Denonville. Much correspondence passed between Denonville and Dongan, but with little result, although Denonville persisted in building a fort at Niagara. Prior to this, the English had established trading stations and built forts in the Hudson's Bay territory, etc. In the spring of 1686 the French decided to assert their rights to that territory, and sent an expedition to drive out the English. The forts were taken, but, meanwhile, this Treaty had been signed. Dongan was instructed to give no offence to Denonville, which placed him at a disadvantage, as it was only four months later that similar instructions were sent to Denonville.

Early in 1685 Charles II was succeeded by James II, a Catholic, who was very much under the influence of Louis XIV, and this Treaty seems to have been inspired by the French.

It was under these conditions that this Treaty was negotiated. It seems to have had no lasting effect, and it deserves more notice

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than it has received from historical writers, most of whom appear to have been satisfied with a simple statement that a Treaty of Neutrality had been signed.[1]

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY exhibited the original deed on parchment dated March 1, 1657–8, given by Richard and Edward Hutchinson to William Brenton, afterwards Governor of Rhode Island, of the estate in State Street, Boston, on which stood the mansion house of Governor John Winthrop. The site is now covered by the Exchange Building.[2]

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited the manuscript Orderly Book of Colonel William Thomson, of the Third South Carolina Regiment known as the Rangers. This covers the period from 21 June, 1775, to 3 November, 1778, and contains correspondence with Henry Laurens, the South Carolina Council of Safety, and others.

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[1] Allusions to the Treaty will be found in New York Colonial Documents, iii. 388–389, 465, 467, 468, 469, 487, 506, 511, 519, 520–523, 525, iv. 169, 210, 478, v. 620, ix. 370.

[2] Cf. Publications of this Society, iii. 86–90.

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APRIL MEETING, 1915

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, by invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Wednesday, 15 April, 1915, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Mr. HENRY E. WOODS, the Rev. Dr. WILLIAM W. FENN, and Dr. CHARLES M. GREEN.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. ARTHUR LORD and WILLIAM V. KELLEN.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. EDWARD CHANNING and Mr. EDWARD BANGS DREW, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE of Cambridge, and Mr. STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS of Salem, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read extracts from the Diary of the Rev. John Eliot[1] as transcribed in the commonplace book of his brother Ephraim Eliot, describing some lively disputes in the Harvard Corporation meetings in 1805, during the interregnum, which ended in the election of a Unitarian President and a Unitarian Professor of Divinity[2] and the foun-

[1] H. C. 1772; died 1813.

[2] Samuel Webber and the elder Henry Ware.

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dation of the Andover Theological Seminary by the defeated Calvinists.

On behalf of the Rev. CHARLES E. PARK was read a paper on the degree of impressiveness and æsthetic beauty that inhered in the forms of worship of our Colonial churches of the strictly Congregational order.

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH asked for information concerning the authorship of "Caspipina's Letters,"[1] usually attributed to the Rev. Jacob Duché. A copy of these letters, recently acquired by the University of Illinois, contains a manuscript note stating that the author was the Rev. Thomas Coombe, also of Philadelphia.

Mr. MORISON also read a dispatch from Lord Grenville to George Hammond, the British Minister at Philadelphia, in the year 1794. This dispatch was the first evidence of interest in the United States on the part of the British Foreign Office since the Revolution. Its object was to prevent the United States joining Denmark and Sweden in a treaty of armed neutrality. The incident throws light on John Jay's favorable reception in London.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited the Diary of the Rev. Philemon Robbins (H. C. 1729) kept between 1737 and 1745, in which, among other facts, is recorded the birth of his more famous son, the Rev. Chandler Robbins of Plymouth.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE spoke as follows:

The following extract from a manuscript journal kept by Alfred Brooks,[2] brother of the Rev. Charles Brooks,[3] is interesting enough

[1] Observations on a Variety Of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; In a Series of Original Letters, Written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who resided some Time in Philadelphia. Revised by a Friend, to whose Hands the Manuscript was committed for Publication. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[2] This manuscript volume (in my possession) is but a fragment of the journal kept by Mr. Brooks on a European tour of some thirteen months. It covers the interval from April 9, 1834 (Florence), to December 13, 1834 (New York). The passage from Liverpool to New York, in the packet ship Virginian, took twenty-eight days, — a week less than the captain's forecast. There were twenty-four cabin passengers.

[3] 1795–1872; H. C. 1816.

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to print. It gives an account of a call upon Lady Blessington on Sunday evening, July 27, 1834, in company with N. P. Willis.[1]

In the evening, I accompanied Mr Willis to Lady Blessington's in Belgrave Square — we enter'd the parlour at 10, — Lady B— had not left the dinner table — in a few minutes D'Israelli the author of Vivian Grey enter'd, to whom I was presented — he is a small man, but well proportion'd — a jewish face, that seem'd to have sufferd some convulsion, study & thought might have causd it — his eye is prominent & expressive & his profile, one side I thought both handsome & expressive — hair jet black & long — he said his next flight would be to America — Lady Blessington soon made her appearance — this ladys renown in the literary & fashionable world made her a most interesting object to me — She receiv'd me in the manner most agreeable, & conversd upon subjects that were American — she is partial to America — talks of every thing like one initiated — her language flows in an unbroken current, & is sufficiently elegant, without a particle of ostentation — Her person is rather plump, of the usual style of females in England — not tall, & a head that Coombe would like well to look upon — her face is rather oval, & in conversation, possesses a peculiarly gracious expression — she seems to possess an extraordinary combination, in a clever head and warm heart.

Shortly after, Count D'Orsay, with the gentlemen that had been dining with him, enter'd, among them was the Duke of Richlieu, marquiss of Worcester — Lord Elphinstone — Mr Talbot — Mr Henry Baring — Mr Bernal M. P. — Lord Farnham & the Russian Chargé d'affaires — Earl Durham was expected to have been one of the party — Count D'Orsay is son in Law to Lady Blessington & one of the handsomest men in London. Lady Manners Sutton is a sister.

Mr. Julius H. Tuttle made the following communication:

Little is known of the existence of clubs or societies at Harvard College in its early days. Mention was made by our associate Mr. Lane in his communication, at the January meeting, 1909, of Turell's manuscript volume in the possession of the College Library, of an early society.[2] The members of that society were graduates in the

[1] Willis's account of his own first call upon Lady Blessington shortly before this date may be found in The New-York Mirror (reprinted in The American Ladies' Magazine, April, 1835, viii. 215–219).

[2] Publications, xii. 227.

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classes of 1719, 1721, and 1722. Turell says that they agreed in October, 1722, to draw up a "Scheme of Proposalls."

Perhaps the earliest record of a College club, at Cambridge, among the undergraduates is shown by a manuscript given by Rosseter Cotton in 1815 to the American Antiquarian Society,[1] by whose permission it is given below. This club, called "The Philomusarian Club," was "Concerted" in September, 1728; and was composed of one Senior, probably its leader, Philemon Robbins, of the class of 1729, seven Juniors, and two Sophomores. Its object was the "Promotion of Learning & Good Manners," and no person was to be admitted "Unless Adjudg'd to Be Philomusae I. E. A Lover of Learning." Most of the ten members named were afterward ministers, and a brief biographical notice of each is given below.

The Philomusarian Club

Preamb: Whereas the Honourable & Laudable Designs (viz The Promotion of Learning & Good Manners) for w^c^ This Illustrious Academy was founded Have Been of Late Subverted And Not Only So But Conversation, which is The Basis of Friendship The fundamental Principle of Society The Great Prerogative of Mankind & Every Way Adapted to the Dignity of Humanity, Is Now Is Now att A Very Low Ebb, The Necessary Consequence of Which is The Decay of Learning and Civility, Moreover, On The Contrary Vice & folly Are In Their Zenith & Meridian & Gild the Hemisphere of The Muses wth Meteors Whose false Glare is By Many Mistaken for the Refulgent Stars of Wisdom & Virtue. To be Brief, Vice is Now Become Alamode & Rant Riot & Excess is Accounted The Heigth Of Good Breeding & Learning — In Order Therefore to Stem That Monstrous Tide of Impiety & Ignorance wch is Like to Sweep All Before it & for Our Mutual Advantage & Emolum^t^ The Subscribers Have Thought fitt to Engage In The Following Combination As We Are Sensible That Next to Religion Learning Claims The precedency

Articles To Be Agreed on.

Inprimis. That The Club Shall Meet att A Particular Chamber 4 Nights In A Week viz. Mondays Wednesdays. Thursdays & Fridays In The Evening, & Whoever Shall Absent Himself from The Club With-

[1] Curwen Papers, v. 87.

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out Sufficient Excuse. The Penalty for Non Attendance 4^{d} per Time or more. N. B. 3. Member to Make a Club with the owner of the Chamber.

Item. Nothing Shall Be The Topick of Conversation but Some Point of Learning, & Every Member is Oblig'd to Communicate any New Thought or Hint Which He has Met w^{t} for Our Universal Information.

3: That All Railing Curses Imprecations, vile Appellations, obsceness &c. The Penalty for Each Offence Not Less y^{n} 6^{d}

4: That Once in 2 Weeks There Shall Be A Court Held In order to Hear & Determine all Such Crimes as Shall Be Committed Att the Club, to Consist of Three Stated Judges 1 Constable 1 Clerk &c.

5 That the Club Shall Choose A Treasurer to Recieve the fines Which Shall Be kept to Defray The Expences of The Clubb & Likewise A Clerk provided w^{t} A Book wherein He Shall Register The Actions of The Club & their Determinations of Any Question.

6: That There Shall Be An able Moderator chose Every Evening Before Any Quaestion Shall Be Disputed

7: That None Shall Presume to Interpose when another is Speaking Penalty 2^{d} ~~or More to Be Determin'd By ye Court~~

8 That There is to Be A Monitor Chose Who Shall Exhibit his Informations of those Crimes which Be Comitted att Clubb

9 That Every Member Shall Bear An Equal Share of Pipes Tobacco Wett or ye Like.

10: When Any Member Thrô Inadvertency or Anger Shall Bee too Clamourous. The Moderator or President Shall Immediately give him a lower Pitch if He is Obstinate He Shall Be punish'd Not Less y^{n} 2^{d}

11 The Monitor Shall take Due Notice of Every Crime Breach of any Article or Committed in Clubb & Exhibit his Informations Accordingly.

12 Every Member shall Industriously Stick to Studies ~~Diligently~~ Att Suitable Seasons.

13. Every Member Shall Conceal Whatever passes in Clubb Penalty 1^{s}/

14. The Clubb Shall Be Enabled to Enact Such further Laws As Shall Be Convenient. The Clerk is To Register them Accordingly.

15. Once A Week By Turns Every Member Shall Choose Some Topick Suitable to his Genius From whence He Shall Expound Make Some Poem or Raise Some Discourse or Chain of Argument. Which Will Be Highly Beneficial The penalty for Default is 1^{s}/

N. B. He Shall Communicate it to The Clubb.

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16 No Member Shall presume to Impose on another or Laugh or Scoff att his performances Except it be by fair Argument penalty. 2d

17: No Prohibited Liquors or Games to Be Made use of in the Clubb.

18. Every Member is Oblig'd to Observe These Articles Upon penalty of Expulsion in Case of Obstinacy.

19. No Person Shall Be admitted without previous proposition Nor Then Unless Adjudg'd to Be Philomusae I. E. A Lover of Learning.

Sign'd & Seal'd By

	Seal.
PHILEMON ROBBINS	×
BENJA VIALL	×
SAMLL PORTER	×
JAMES DIMAN	×
STEPHEN EMERY	×
JOHN SPARHAWK	×
HENRY HALE	×
CALEB RICE	×
COMFORT CARPENTER	×
JNO. COTTON	×

Tuesday
Thursday
Friday Court
½ Hour after Six. Tardy. 2d
Viall Clerk Monitor Treasurer.
Carpenter Constable

[*Endorsed*]

Articles of ye
Philomusarian Club.

Articles
Of The
Philomusarian Club
Concerted. Sept 4
1728

Articles of
the Philomu-
sarian Club
at College.[1]

Philemon Robbins, of the class of 1729, was born in that part of Cambridge now Lexington, on September 19, 1709, the son of

[1] Of these three endorsements, the second and third are in the same hand as the Articles above.

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Nathaniel Robbins. He was minister of Branford, Connecticut; and died there on August 13, 1781.

Benjamin Viall, of the class of 1730, on April 6, 1729, joined the First Church in Cambridge, but did not graduate, as his death in that year is noted in the Faculty Records.[1] The entry of his admission to the First Church gives his christian name as "Benjamin," with the word "student" added;[2] and unquestionably he is the same person as the member of the Philomusarian Club. Viall was born at Salem, November 8, 1710, and died at Bristol, Rhode Island, August 11, 1729. He was a son of Samuel (1667–1745) and Susannah (Flint) Viall, and a grandson of the John Viall who kept the noted Ship Tavern in Boston.[3]

Samuel Porter, of the class of 1730, was born at Brookfield and was minister of Sherburn, where he died in September, 1758.

James Diman, of the same class, hailed from some place on Long Island, New York, where he was born on November 29, 1707. He was minister of the Fourth Church, Salem, and died there on October 8, 1788.

Stephen Emery, also of the same class, was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on July 10, 1715. He was minister of Nottingham and Chatham, New Hampshire, and died at Chatham on May 18, 1782. His father was the Rev. Joseph Emery of the class of 1697.

John Sparhawk, of the class of 1731, born in September, 1713, was settled as minister of the First Church at Salem on December 8, 1736. He died there on April 30, 1755.

Henry Hale, of the same class, was born in Beverly on December 19, 1712, the son of Robert and Elizabeth Hale. He died at Exeter, New Hampshire, on September 29, 1736.

Caleb Rice, of the class of 1730, was born at Marlborough on December 13, 1712, the son of Caleb and Mary (Ward) Rice. He

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[1] i. 15. The entry there reads: "Vial; dead 1729." The name "Vial" is in the hand of Tutor Flynt, the rest of the entry having been inserted, of course at a much later date, by President Wadsworth. Viall was placed eleventh in a class of thirty-seven.

[2] Cambridge Church Records, 1632–1830 (1906), p. 96.

[3] Narragansett Historical Register, iii. 100, 106, 108–110; J. N. Arnold, Vital Record of Rhode Island, Bristol, p. 168. I am indebted to Mr. Matthews and to Mr. Gay for information about Viall.

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was ordained the first minister of Sturbridge on September 29, 1736; and died there on September 2, 1759.

Comfort Carpenter, of the same class, was born at Rehoboth, the son of Josiah; and died in 1739.

John Cotton, also of the same class, was born at Plymouth in April, 1712, the son of the Rev. Josiah (class of 1698), and the grandson of the Rev. John (class of 1657). He was minister of Halifax, Massachusetts, from 1735 to 1756. He was County Treasurer, and Register of Deeds, and died at Plymouth on November 4, 1789.

On behalf of Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY the following communication was made:

I have brought for examination the Muster Roll of Captain Thomas Larimore's Company, which was mustered for her Majesty's service December 1, 1702, and embarked at Boston on the Frigate Gosport for Jamaica. After service there and in Newfoundland, it returned to Boston and was disbanded November 7, 1703. It is signed by Governor Joseph Dudley. The particular significance attaching to this roll is that it presents us with the names of those forming the first company ever sent outside the limits of the Province in obedience to instructions from the Crown. Dudley well knew that by the provisions of the Provincial Charter of 1691, he was forbidden to send any expedition out of the Province without the consent of the General Court and the soldiers themselves. In the words of the Charter: "That the said Governour shall not at any time hereafter by vertue of any power hereby granted or hereafter to be granted to him Transport any of the Inhabitants of Our said Province or Territory or oblige them to march out of the Limitts of the same without their Free and voluntary consent or the Consent of the Great and Generall Court or Assembly of Our said Province or Territory."[1] Dudley lays stress on this limitation of his power in his letters to those in authority, and asks that the men on service may be treated with kindness and consideration.

Soon after his arrival in America, after a long absence, Dudley learned of the declaration of war between England and France, and

[1] Publications of this Society, ii. 27.

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in accordance with instructions from England sent provisions and volunteers to Jamaica. In choosing the Captain for the first company to be raised, Thomas Larimore was selected. He had already proved his fitness as a sea-commander by sending in four prizes. The story of his connection with Quelch the pirate belongs to a later period. Larimore was last heard of on his departure for England for trial as accessory in piracy, July 22, 1704.

Several illustrative documents and the Muster Roll follow.

I

Minutes of Council of the Massachusettes Bay. July 8, 1702. . . . H. E. proposing that, for the more vigorous prosecuting of the war, a Proclamation be emitted to encourage merchants and others to equip and set forth private ships or vessels of war for the annoying and taking of H. M. enemies etc., and to make known that due and legal Commissions should be granted unto suitable persons to command such private ships, and that all their mariners and soldiers duly listed should be free from all impresses for other services whatsoever, the Council advised accordingly.[1]

II

Governor Dudley to the Council of Trade and Plantations. July 23, 1702, Portsmouth. . . . I have received H. M. Declaration of War, *etc.*, and since that I have encouraged and set out four vessels to annoy the French, two of them of good force, and shall give them all due encouragement, and hope for a public service and benefit by them.[2]

III

Minutes of Council of the Massachusetts Bay. Aug. 27, 1702. A collection of intelligence from France, etc. drawn out of the French papers and letters taken in a prize lately sent in by Capt. Thomas Larrimore, Commander of a private man of war, was read at the Board.[3]

IV

Governor Dudley to Council of Trade and Plantations. Sept. 17, 1702, Boston. . . . Three daies since arrived here H. M. Sloop the *Wolfe*, with H. M. commands for provisions to be sent hence to Ad-

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702, No. 728.
[2] Ibid. No. 780.
[3] Ibid. No. 924.

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mirall Bemboe to Jamaica or elsewhere, in which I am taking all possible care to expedite the matter to have the provisions ready, and shall not faile in anything, but the weather is so hot that meat will be in a hazard of spoiling, but I doubt not a fortnight will suit the weather, when I shall use all possible dispatch, and shall take care that the prices be as low as can be and the fraight agreed for, and the *Gospir* [Gosport], as H. M. has commanded, shall convey them down.

In answer to the other part of H. M. Order, referring to the forming of some Companies to be sent to Jamaica, your Lordships will please to remember that we are the most distant Government on the shore of America from Jamaica, being more than 500 leagues, that we have an inland frontier, to the Indians, of more than 200 miles in open villages, where in every war we have been attackt by the Indians and French, and expect the same every day, now Port Royal and Placentia are so well fortified and strengthened, besides our sea-coast, which is much longer, upon which in the last war a single French privateer has often landed and carryed away what he pleased. And Port Royall is so growing a settlement, and so near us, that if H. M. would please let a small fleet of but three or four men-of-war call there with assistance of some of H. M. people here for the land part, that nest might be destroyed, and the people be at more freedom to serve abroad; however without any consideration of what is abovesaid, which I have done with when I have represented it, I shall for myself absolutely submit, and would immediately enter upon it, to prepare and encourage some companies of men for the service at Jamaica, but the present Charter of this place giving the choice of the Council into the hands of the people, and directing H. M. Governour here not to send any people out of the Province without the consent of the Councill and Assembly, is that which cramps me in that affair, and I am morally assured, before I enter upon it with them, that I shall not obtain one voice of a Counsellor for fear of their precarious places, depending upon the people's voices, and so H. M. affairs will unavoidably suffer till the Council here shall value their duty more than their station, or depend absolutely upon H. M. appointment.[1]

V

Governor Dudley to Earl of Nottingham. Oct. 15, 1702, Boston. I have provided the bread, beef and pork H. M. directed, and the *Gospir* [Gosport] is fitting to proceed with it with all possible speed. I shall in a few days beat up for volunteers for the service at Jamaica, and leave

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702, No. 966.

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no means unessayed to obtain two good companies of musqueteers for the service, but shall find all the obstruction and difficulty in it possible from men that love no service but their own.[1]

VI

Governor Dudley to the Earl of Nottingham. Nov. 8, 1702, Boston. The *Dreadnought* convoy for the mast men has stayed till this date that I might acquaint your Lordship that all the provisions I had your Lordship's warrant for to be sent to Jamaica are in cask and most of them on board two ships I have hired, and two or three fayr days will dispatch all ready for the first fayr wind. I have two Captains are very diligent in raysing Volunteers for H. M. service in the West Indies in obedience to H. M. warrant; one has got about 40 men with great difficulty, and I am hoping to proceed; but I have yesterday a prisoner from Quebeck that assures me he was present when the Governor of that place agreed with and dispatched 2 or 300 Indians, who I must expect every day upon the frontiers. However, I shall do my utmost, as is my duty; but it is insinuated amongst the people that they are only demanded to fill up the companies from England, and to be put aboard Admiral Benboe, which I have assured them is a false information, and humbly pray your Lordship that, if they arrive in Jamaica, there may be orders to keep them intire companies, and that they may be kindly treated, being the first men that ever issued from this Province.[2]

VII

Governor Dudley to the Council of Trade and Plantations. Nov. 10, 1702, Boston. . . . I have in obedience to H. M. commands procured the bread and other provisions for Jamaica, which was ordered, and it is now shipping in two large ships, and the *Gospir* [Gosport] will be ready in a few days to sail with them, when there will be no ship left for the guard of our coasts here; I am also using all methods to encourage two foot companies of volunteers as H. M. has commanded for the service in the West Indies, and hope to obtain them if this new motion of the Indians do not prevent me, but must observe to your Lordships that I have no assistance, but the contrary from several Gentlemen of the Council here, who privately insinuate that they will be broke at their arrival at Jamaica, and disposed of otherwise then in entire companies. I shall also be at a great difficulty for arms and cloaths for them, and I

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702, No. 1046.
[2] Ibid. No. 1131.

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have no direction what establishment to put them upon, but shall yet do my utmost to send them and hope H. M. orders will meet them there with all encouragement, being the first men that were ever sent out of the Province for the service of the Crown.[1]

VIII

Governor Dudley to the Earl of Nottingham. Dec. 10, 1702, Boston. . . . The provisions for Jamaica have been now ten daies on board, the best of all sorts *etc.* As to the soldiers for Jamaica, I never expected any assistance from the Gentlemen in Government here; however I have successfully granted three Commissions to proper persons for officers of three companies, and one of them, who has very happily taken four ships from the French this summer, Capt. Thomas Laramore, is now ready to go on board with a very good company, but I have made bold to assure them, they shall be very kindly dealt with abroard, being voluntiers etc. (*as Nov.* 8). I hope, upon the report of their good reception I may be able to get two Companies more against the Spring, especially if I can maintain a quiet with the Indians, though this whole matter be very grievous to most of the people here, who would be glad if any discouragement should happen to these voluntiers at Jamaica, to prevent any more going after them, which makes me now importunate that H. M. may send such order as may make this first instance happy, and settle the communication and mutual support of the plantations severally. In the raising of Capt. Laramore's men, I have been out as the enclosed account will shew. I humbly pray it may be paid to Mr. Constantine Phipps. . . .

Dec. 18. Capt. Larrimore is now on board with his officers and soldiers in good order.[2]

IX

Governor Dudley to the Council of Trade and Plantations. Feb. 11, 1703, Boston. . . . The provisions (*for Jamaica*) in two store-ships and Larramore with his company on board the *Gosport* all sailed hence on Jan. 2 with a fair wind, and about 30 vessels with provisions to the Islands, and I hope may be well arrived. Since which I have also sent away in a new sloop another foot company of volunteers out of the Province of New Hampshire, Capt. Walton Commander, whom I have clothed and armed and victualled for their voyage, and they sailed from Piscataqua Jan. 17, which is all that I can do upon that head, until I

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702, No. 1135.
[2] Ibid. 1702–1703, No. 30.

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may hear of their happy arrivall and kind reception from the Government of Jamaica, which will encourage more to follow them.[1]

X

Minutes of Council of Jamaica. Feb. 11, 1703, St. Jago de la Vega. The Governor communicated a letter from Governor Dudley, Dec. 26, stating that in obedience to H. M. directions he had provided provisions for the Victuallers at Jamaica, which were now upon two shipps under convoy of H. M. S. *Gospir* [Gosport], together with one good foot Company of Volunteers, under command of Capt. Larrimore, and hoped to follow them with two more early in the spring under proper officers. "Capt. Larrimore and his officers and most of his men have been abroad this summer upon this coast, and have taken five good ships, and have shewed themselves of good courage, but will fall short in their appearance and discipline of the regular troops you do receive from England, having been in an army, but that may be in a few weeks taught them, and in real service I hope they will show themselves Englishmen. That which I have promised them with the Queen's favour that they shall be kept an intire company under their own officers, and so improved and commanded by their superior officers at all times during their service, and that they shall while in the West Indies receive H. M. pay with all other encouragement both for officers and soldiers as is given to any other troops, and that I ask of you, S^{r}, as being a service to H. M. They are the first men in armes that ever went out of this Province, or from the shoar of America, and if at first they meet with discouragement I am sure I shall never send from hence one file of Volunteers more. I therefore humbly pray on their behalf that they may be kindly dealt with all and provided so that I may have a good account of them to be made public here, and it will satisfy every body. I may say to yourself S^{r} that I have here a verry difficult Province to manage, and it is in your power by your kind reception of these men to repute the service here verry much. Their arms are unsizable, but I have no store here, neither of Province nor of H. M. to fitt them better, *etc.*" Which being read, and also Capt. Larrimore's Commission, Oct. 19, and the Instructions whereby 'tis appointed that the Captain's pay shall commence from the date of his Commission, and his Company's pay from Dec. 1st last, the Governor required the opinion and advice of the Board thereupon. It was their unanimous advice that in regard the said Company are part of the forces intended for a further expedition, and that there is noe

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702–1703, No. 315.

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establishment remitted hither yet for their pay or subsistence, that they goe in H. M. ships along with the Admirall in his now intended cruise, and the Board desired the Governor to write a letter to the Admiral to take them along accordingly. . . .

Feb. 12. Col. Dudley's letter and an answer from Admiral Whetstone declaring his thankful acceptance of the Governor's proposal of Capt. Larrimore's Company, read.[1]

XI

Governor Dudley to the Council of Trade and Plantations. April 11, 1703, Boston. . . . I have also by H. M. S. *Gosport* arrived this day from Jamaica, the good news that the two storeships of provisions, and the two foot companies I sent by H. M. especiall command together with about 14 victuallers in company are all safe arrived at Port Royal and very seasonable, considering the great disaster of the fire there.[2]

XII

Governor Dudley to [? *the Earl of Nottingham*]. May 10, 1703, Boston. . . . I humbly thank the honor of your Lordship's commands of Jan. 23, which I received yesterday by way of Jamaica, and humbly thank your Lordship's favour to the two Companies sent from this Province to Jamaica; and I shall do my duty in providing for the fleet, if they call here, and if they are upon any design to the northward, at Port Royal, Placentia, or Kebeck, I believe them all feasible, and if I have any warning from Admirall Whetstone, or who else is in command, I shall do what I can to encourage voluntiers to keep them company from hence for H. M. service.[3]

XIII

Merchants and Planters concerned in the Island of Jamaica to the Queen. July 7, 1703, Jamaica. . . . Admiral Graydon is gone hence about a fortnight past with a great fleet to attack a French settlement at Newfoundland. He hath left but 4 men of war and 2 fireships here, and those against his will. Hee is moros and ill-tempered, and if he had staid long here would have allmost ruined the Island by his pressing allmost all sorts of people, and other ill usage — in perticular his taking off a master of a vessell on borde of his ship and whipped him for

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702–1703, No. 319. The Governor of Jamaica was Thomas Handasside.

[2] Ibid. No. 544.

[3] Ibid. No. 673.

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not going under his sterne, tho' could not doe without the hazard of looseing his vessel, wch. is what has not bin before practised by or to any Englishman.[1]

XIV

Governor Dudley to the Council of Trade and Plantations. Aug. 5, 1703, Boston. . . . I . . . am also in advance as much as it amounts to for the fitting out the two Companies sent to Jamaica, which I hope my Lord Nottingham will obtain that I may be paid, having humbly written to him therein, since which I have had no commands.[2]

XV

Sept. 3, 1703. Minutes of a Council of War of sea and land officers held on board H. M. S. *Boyne* in St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland. Upon reading H. M. Instructions to Brigadier *Colenbine* and H. R. H. Instructions to Vice-Admiral Graydon, and upon mature consideration of (1) the ill state of the ships. . . . (6) The five regiments here are reduced to 1,305. The New England forces which were to have been 500 are but two companys; were at first but 70 both, and now but 25, the whole very weak and sickly. . . . It is therefore the unanimous opinion that to make any attempt on Placentia with the ships and forces at this time of the year, under the present circumstances, is altogether impracticable, and hath no probability of success, but more likely to be a dishonour to H. M. armes.[3]

XVI

Governor Dudley to [? *the Earl of Nottingham*]. Dec. 19, 1703, Boston. . . . The two foot companyes, Capt. Laramore and Walton, are arrived from Newfoundland, and I took care to muster what remained of them. Laramore scap't best and brought home 30 men. I have signed their muster-rolls, with all exactness, both as to the time of their shipping and landing here. I have not presumed to set their pay, not knowing what H. M. pleasure will be therein, because though they were raised as foot companyes, what service they did was at sea, being severall moneths aboard the Fleet for a cruise. Mr. James Campbell will waite on your Lordship with the muster-rolls and the method of their payment, whether as Foot or marriners, is humbly submitted to your Lordship. I have so far given them a Reputation with some merchants here, as to obtain something for their releife after a yeares absence,

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702–1703, No. 1224.
[2] Ibid. No. 996.
[3] Ibid. No. 1071.

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having had nothing abroad more than their subsistence, and I humbly pray your Lordship's favour for them, which will encourage the like service for the future.[1]

XVII

Captain *Cary* Sailed on *Saturday* last [22], in the Express Sloop [Seaflower, Capt. John Welch] for *England*, with an Account of Capt. *Quelch* and Company's Tryal, *&c.* who carries with him Capt. *Thomas Larimore* and *Joseph Wells* Lieutenant (mentioned in our Numb. 9 Print, as Accessaries in endeavouring to cary off the 7 Pirates then taken) as Prisoners to the Queen: He carries also with him three Evidences of their Crime committed.[2]

XVIII

NEW ENGLAND Province of the Massachusetts

An Accompt of Cap[t] Thomas Larrimores Company mustered for her Ma[tys] Service the 1st day of December Anno Dom̄ 1702 & put On boord her Ma[tys] Ship The Gosport for Jamaica & Since Returnd & Disbanded the Seaventh of November 1703. In the Second year of her Mat[ies] Reigne over England &c

Persons Names:	Time of entry.	Time of discharge	Number of Daies	p diem £	s	d	£	s	d
Capt Thos Larrimore & 3 Servtts	19th 8ber 1702	7th Novr 1703	384	..	7	6	£144	..	..
John Aires Leivt & 1 Servtt	1st Decer ditto	Do	342	..	3	4	57	..	..
Jos Wells Ens: & 1 Servtt	Do	Do	342	..	2	6	42	15	..
Nathll ffrost, John Draton, Cha Chirlock — Sergts.	Do	Do	342	..	1	..	17	2	..
	Do	Do	342	..	1	..	17	2	..
	Do	Do	342	..	1	..	17	2	..
Samll Shalotts, Johnth Milborn, Edwd Ward — Corpls	Do	Do	342	..	..	6	8	11	..
	Do	Do	342	..	..	6	8	11	..
	Do	Do	342	..	..	6	8	11	..
Danll Green Drummer	Do	Do	342	..	..	4	5	14	..
Ben. Pickering	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Allexr Osburn	Do	dyed 24th Janr	55	..	..	2	..	9	2
John Woodweell	Do	7th Novr 1703	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
John Sweet	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
William Collings	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Martin Majory	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
ffrancis ffowler	Do	dyed 30th august	273	..	..	2	2	5	6
Josh. Gustine	Do	7th Novr 1703	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Danll Johns	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Samll Willies	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Benja Wright	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
William Carter	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
John Martine	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Samll Brown	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
William Leach	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Nathanll Birsdell	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
James Macartee	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
William Wise	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Danll Ralph	Do	Do	342	..	..	2	2	17	..
Adam Menzies	Do	dyed 9th Septr 1703	285	..	..	2	2	7	6

[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1702–1703, No. 1399.

[2] Boston News Letter, July 24, 1704, No. 14, p. 2/1.

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John Gladloch	1st Decer 1702	7th Novr 1703	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Josh Davies	Do	Do	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Thomas Kempton	Do	Do	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Danll Hobbs	Do	dyed 16th march	106	.. ..	2	..	17	8
Jos. Parker	Do	dyed 22d aprile	143	.. ..	2	..	3	10
ffrancis Clarke	Do	dyed 11th 7ber	285	.. ..	2	2	7	6
Edwd Gage	Do	dischargd 26 June	208	.. ..	2	1	14	2
John Hall	Do	7th Novr 1703	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
		Carry'd Over To the other Side				£397	10	4

Persons Names	Time of Entry	Time of discharge	Number of Daies	p diem		li	s	d
Brought Over from The other Side						£397	10	4
Josh Nelând	Do	7th Novr 1703	342	£	2	2	17	..
Samll Garry	Do	Do	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Israel Bradly	Do	Do	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Thomas Cloyse	Do	Do	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Andrw Carter	Do	Run 26th June	208	.. ..	2	1	14	2
Ben Dean	Do	7th Novr 1703	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Peter Danll	Do	Dischargd 12th ffebr	74	.. ..	2	..	12	4
Peter Martine	Do	dischargd 12th febr	74	.. ..	2	..	12	4
William Dyer	Do	7th November 1703	342	.. ..	2	2	17	..
Timothy Abram	Do	Do	342	....	2	2	17	..
Solomon Nepoak	Do	dyed 15th ffebr	77	.. ..	2	..	12	10
Samll Conoway	Do	dyed 20th Aprile	141	.. ..	2	1	3	6
Josias James	Do	dyed 10th may	161	.. ..	2	1	6	10
John Waite	Do	dyed 12 ffebr	74	.. ..	2	..	12	4
Jeremiah Harker	Do	dyed 15th Janr	46	.. ..	2	..	7	8
Peter Heplew	Do	dyed 23d Janr	54	.. ..	2	..	9	..
William ffiint	Do	dyed 6th dito	37	.. ..	2	..	6	2
John Mors	Do	dyed 13 ffebr	75	.. ..	2	..	12	6
John Osborne	Do	dyed 24th Janr	55	.. ..	2	..	9	2
John Coventry	Do	dyed 6th dito	37	.. ..	2	..	6	2
						£426	14	4

These are to Certify That by her Majesties Especial Command The Company above written was Raysed in New England. Shipt for Jamaica December 1st 1702 & Came on Shoar againe & were discharged: on the Seaventh of November 1703, as is exprest in the Muster Roll above. & I Judge theire wages is duly Set after the English Establishment amounting to four hundred twenty Six pounds fourteen shillings four pence

Boston 1st December 1703. J DUDLEY

[Filed]

Capt Larrimores Certificate
for his pay

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD spoke briefly upon the early archives of Massachusetts. What had survived the usual risks attending manuscript material, of which the carelessness of custodians has not been the least, were arranged in 1836–1842 by Joseph B. Felt and bound in 241 volumes. The arrangement was by subject, and, as might be expected, the result was not satisfactory, as many papers covered more than one topic. The proper classification was sometimes

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obscure, and an inevitable separation of allied documents occurred. In each volume the arrangement purported to be chronological; yet here again confusion meets the examiner, dates not being observed with strictness, and undated papers being inserted out of their obvious sequence. Each volume contained an index or table of contents, in chronological order; and while the table generally named each paper, it often gave groups or classes of documents under a single entry. These chronological lists were combined into a single list or catalogue, and the investigator must know the period of the document desired, or be obliged to search item by item the lists or one of the volumes to which his particular paper is supposed to belong. All these lists date from Mr. Felt's time, and embody the defects incident to performances of the kind of that period, when the enthusiasm and knowledge of the individual could not make good the difficulties attending so extensive a task, undertaken without assistance (mention is made of one "boy" who aided Mr. Felt at times) and without the minute study of the material needed to clear doubtful points. However excellent as a beginning, these lists should have been extended and carded, not a difficult task if done systematically and continuously; and certainly could have been completed long ere this time, or even at this time with an average of three volumes a year.

In course of time some of these volumes fell into bad condition, requiring not only rebinding, but the repair of the contents by the more modern methods applied to the repair of manuscripts. Unfortunately a bad method was resorted to in the first examples, and a heavy coating of silk has materially reduced the legibility of the documents. Later examples show better methods, but are still open to criticism, in that no attempt has been made to remedy the tendency to place too many manuscripts upon one page or leaf of the volume. This was unnecessary, as, with a very few exceptions, it is the manuscript and not the sheet of paper on which it

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is mounted that bears the folio number. No more papers should be placed on a page than can be conveniently photographed; and no more than can be easily turned without handling the manuscripts themselves. Any other plan only leads to tearing of the documents in handling, and any keeper of manuscripts knows that only one person in ten who uses manuscripts treats them with proper consideration. The increased expense would have been small, and the insurance against injury much greater than under the present system of crowding a number of papers, sometimes six or seven, upon a single mount.

Two problems face the keeper of the State archives, who is under the authority of the Secretary of the Commonwealth: there should be a more generous allotment of space for the Bureau in one of the fireproof additions to the State House; and a general index should be at once commenced. These two improvements will increase the safety of the collections and also increase their utility to the public. There is no danger that any officer in charge will destroy what is of historical value in the archives, and least of all the earlier or colonial records. In later times some reasonable limit to the accumulation of administrative papers must be fixed, and what is unnecessary either for the daily routine of executive business or for history should be destroyed. Mr. Ford hoped that when questions arise about the care and disposition of the public archives, the Secretary of the Commonwealth would consult representatives from the leading historical and patriotic societies, and invite their suggestion and support for improvements within his power to effect. As to the keeper of the archives, his functions bring him more immediately into connection with the public and instruct him upon its needs; but unless he is acting in harmony with the more general requirements of the Secretary's office, this utility must be impaired and much needed improvements impeded or prevented. The question concerns Massachusetts alone,

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and foreign interference, based upon partial information, can only produce an unfortunate conflict of authority.

Mr. Ford also spoke of the gift by Mr. William V. Kellen to the Massachusetts Historical Society of more than 4500 photographs of papers in the Massachusetts archives. They include almost all the documents of historical interest to be found there bearing date before the year 1700. In selecting the material to be photographed the errors in the arrangement and the treatment of the records became manifest, and such a gift makes it possible for the Historical Society to adopt a new method of arrangement, one more suited to the needs of the investigator. It is doubted if so large and important a reproduction of State archives has ever before been made in this country, and the result marks the successful application of a method of photographing, at once reasonable in cost and effective in practice. He wished the gift by Mr. Kellen to be known, because it inaugurates a form of collecting manuscript records hitherto restricted but now made possible on a large scale by the photostat.

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ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1915

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 22 November, 1915, at six o'clock in the evening, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE and Mr. STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS, accepting Resident Membership.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Four meetings of the Society have been held in the house of the American Academy, whose hospitality we continue to enjoy and appreciate with undiminished gratitude. The meeting of April was held at the home of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry Herbert Edes. The attendance, your Council is sorry to report, has not materially improved. It seems to the Council that the members of the Society are denying themselves a real pleasure as well as a real privilege in not attending the monthly meetings. The papers presented have been of exceptional value and interest: upon The Term Pilgrim Fathers; upon The Change in the Editorship of the Province Laws; upon Franklin as a Scientist; and upon Proprietors of Massachusetts Townships. There have also been presented valuable communications of letters and original documents.

The Treasurer brings the welcome information that the Society's

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finances show encouraging symptoms of good health. During the year two of our Resident Members have commuted their annual dues, thus bringing the total number of those who have availed themselves of this privilege up to fifty-eight. This means that $5,800 has passed into the Society's permanent fund, to yield an assured annual income of nearly $300. This custom of commuting dues is commended to the members as being, like the quality of mercy, twice blessed. It blesses him who commutes, in that it thereafter relieves him of all further payment of dues, and it blesses him that receives, in that it swells the Society's endowment and increases its yearly income. The Council is confident that a word to the wise will be sufficient.

The Society has received a bequest of $1,000 by the will of our late associate Dr. William Watson. This amount goes also into the Permanent Fund. It is a pleasure to note that contributions during the year for immediate use have amounted to $1,500, a good indication of vigorous interest on the part of the members.

The following statement relates to the Society's Publications:

The last published volume was Volume XIV.

Volumes XV and XVI, which will contain the Corporation Records of Harvard College down to 1750, are well advanced, but it is impossible to say when they will be ready for publication.

Volume XVII, which contains the Transactions from March, 1913, to December, 1914, both included, is now going through the press and will be distributed shortly.

Volume XVIII, also a volume of Transactions, has advanced to page 96, containing the meetings for January-April, 1915, both included. Thus the Transactions are in plate to date.

The material for the Royal Instructions is mostly in hand, and will be, it is hoped, wholly in hand by the end of this year.

Our membership has undergone the usual inevitable changes. The following gentlemen have been elected during the year to Resident Membership:

Francis Russell Hart,
Samuel Henshaw,
Augustus George Bullock,
Winslow Warren,
Edward Channing,

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EDWARD BANGS DREW,
HENRY WILDER FOOTE,
STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS;

and to Corresponding Membership:

CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS,
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.

There have been removed by death from our number six of our associates:

DAVID RICE WHITNEY, financier, one of the pioneers in the business development of his city, who devoted himself to her financial upbuilding, and brought to the task all the resources of an exceptionally shrewd and well-experienced mind.

FRANCIS WILLIAM HURD, jurist, a descendant of the Mayflower stock, in whom its sturdy qualities of mind and character were undiminished, a member of the famous Harvard Class of 1852, one of the organizers of the American Bar Association.

GEORGE EMERY LITTLEFIELD, historian, genealogist, lover of books, who by his devotion to strong native tastes, which he had the courage to gratify, made himself an authority in his line; and whose wisdom and integrity caused him to be sought by book lovers and book purchasers.

EZRA RIPLEY THAYER, Dean of the Harvard Law School, a brilliant scholar, and a loyal friend and lovable man. Simple, gentle, winning, reasonable and true, he was guiltless of the sin of low aim, and leaves unfinished a great work greatly begun.

WILLIAM WATSON, eminent in science, especially mathematics, one of the organizers of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a member of many learned societies at home and abroad, and one of the original members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

ARTHUR THEODORE LYMAN, merchant and manufacturer, whose long, rich life and peaceful death one contemplates with a sense of spiritual elation, and whose graces of heart and disposition find their lasting memorial in the love of all who knew him.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 19 November, 1915.

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CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 17 November, 1914		$175.39
Admission Fees	$80.00	
Annual Assessments	600.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues	200.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	147.28	
Sales of the Society's paper	14.96	
Contributions from two members	531.53	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,400.00	
Interest	3,705.86	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	75.00	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	5,500.00	
Provident Institution for Savings, withdrawn for investment	400.00	12,654.63
		$12,830.02

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$496.89	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure	35.33	
E. O. Cockayne, photo-lithography	18.37	
Mary A. Tenney, indexing	100.00	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
Andrew Stewart, auditing	10.00	
Clerk hire	81.85	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light and janitor service	15.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	24.00	
Postage, stationery, and supplies	40.40	
Lucy Drucker, services in London at the Public Record Office	526.53	
Carnegie Institution, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	447.85	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	1,825.00	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	80.00	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	8,000.00	
Interest in adjustment	51.53	12,802.75
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 19 November, 1915		27.27
		$12,830.02

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$70,000.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston

100.00 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston

$70,100.00

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TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash		$27.27
Mortgages	$70,000.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	100.00	70,100.00
		$70,127.27

CREDITS

Income		$27.27
Editor's Salary Fund	$400.00	
Publication Fund	8,500.00	
General Fund	11,200.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	70,100.00
		$70,127.27

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 19 November, 1915

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 19 November, 1915, have attended to their duty and report, that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, certified public accountant.

ARTHUR LORD
WM. V. KELLEN
Committee

BOSTON, 19 November, 1915

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Dr. CHARLES M. GREEN presented the following candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

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PRESIDENT
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

VICE-PRESIDENTS
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Howard Nicholson Brown, the Rev. Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers, the Hon. Grafton Dulany Cushing, Dr. John Washburn Bartol, and Messrs. William Richards Castle, Jr., Alfred Johnson, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, John Lowell, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Bernard Moses, Charles French Read, William Bernard Reid, Richard Clipston Sturgis, and Harry Walter Tyler. The PRESIDENT presided.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1915

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 December, 1915, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Vice-President ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON of Brookline, and Mr. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members.

Announcement was made of the appointment of Messrs. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, and SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON as delegates from the Society to the Twelfth Annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Washington on the thirtieth instant in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS exhibited a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant[1] which, after a few changes, was adopted by the town of Westford on July 4, 1774, and which contains the signatures of 207 signers. Mr. MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1774

The Boston Port Bill received the Royal assent on March 31, 1774, and went into effect "from and after the First Day of June."[2] On

[1] For permission to exhibit this document, I am indebted to Miss Mary A. Tenney, on behalf of her family, in whose possession it has been since Revolutionary days.

[2] It is printed in the Postscript to the Massachusetts Spy of May 12, 1774. In the same paper of June 2 (p. 3/3) appeared the following:

Tell it in *Gath*, publish it in *Askelon*, that the Boston Port-Bill, in all its parts is now carrying into execution and that Boston is thereby put into greater dis-

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June 2 the Boston Committee of Correspondence decided upon what soon became known as the Solemn League and Covenant,[1] and on June 5 Joseph Warren reported it.[2] On June 8 the Committee of Correspondence sent out the following letter:[3]

GENTLEMEN,

THE evils which we have long foreseen are now come upon this town and province, the long meditated stroke is now given to the civil liberty of this country? How long we may be allowed the enjoyment of our religious liberty is a question of infinite moment. Religion can never be retained in it's purity where tyranny has usurped the place of reason and justice. The bill for blocking up the harbour of Boston is replete with injustice and cruelty, thousands of innocent men, besides women and infants, are by it reduced to indegence and distress; and though we in this town more immediately feel this distress, yet our brethren in the other towns of this province, and all the other colonies, must see that we suffer in the common cause, and that *they* themselves must soon realize the sufferings under which *we* now labour, if no means are discovered for our relief. But if any should think that this town alone is to groan under the weight of arbitrary power, we are now furnished by our enemies with a still more glaring evidence of a fixed plan of the British administration to bring the whole continent into the most humiliating bondage. A bill has been brought into parliament apparently for the purpose of taking away our charter rights, wherein it is to be enacted that the counsellors shall be appointed by mandamus from the king, that our justices of the superior court, justices of our inferior courts, and justices of the peace, shall be all appointed by the governor alone, without the advice of the council, and all of them, excepting the

tress, and is more insulted by an English armament than she ever was by a French or Spanish fleet in the hottest war, when left without one British ship for her protection. The town is become a spectacle to *angels* and *men*, GOD grant that it may not be intimidated by the present horrors to make a surrender of the rights of Americans; or in any respect to dishonour herself in this day of tryal and perplexity.

Business was finished at the custom-house at 12 *o'clock yesterday noon, and this harbour is now shut against all vessels bound hither, and on the* 15*th instant none will be allowed to depart hence.* Be it forever remembered, to thy grief and shame, O Britain!

[1] Frothingham, Rise of the Republic of the United States, p. 336 note.

[2] Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, ii. 172.

[3] Copied from an original (two leaves, printed on inside pages) owned by the American Antiquarian Society. An extract from this letter is in Force's American Archives, 4th Series, i. 397; but apparently the letter has not before been reprinted in full.

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justices of the superior court be removable by him at his pleasure, that our juries shall not be chosen by the freeholders, as they heretofore have been, but by the sheriff of the county, and that this sheriff shall not be appointed by the governor and council as heretofore, but by the governor alone, so that our lives and properties are to be decided upon by judges appointed by the governor alone, and by juries chosen by a sheriff who must be entirely under the influence of the governor as he is appointed by him, and is removable by him alone, whenever he shall discover a reluctance to conform to the will of the governor. Surely if we suffer these things we are the most abject slaves. If a favorite of a perverse governor should pretend a title to our lands, or any part of our property, we need not doubt but a very small degree of evidence in support of the claim, would be judged sufficient, especially as the bill makes provision, that upon the motion of either of the parties, it shall be lawful to try the cause in another county than that in which the action was brought, so that a man is to be carried into a distant part of the province, instead of having his cause tried in his own county, and to be tried by strangers with whom the good or bad characters of the parties or of the witnesses can have no weight, contrary to the very spirit of magna charta. Of what value are our lands or estates to us, if such an odious government should be established among us? Can we look with pleasure on the inheritance left by our ancestors, or on the fields cultivated by *our* industry? When we reflect that all our labours have made them only a more inviting prey to our enemies, will not the vine-yard of Naboth be ever in *our* minds? But lest any thing should be wanting to compleat our misery, another bill is also prepared, which enables the governor to save any person or persons, who, under the pretext of supporting or carrying into execution the late or other acts of the British parliament, shall murder and destroy the people of this country, from being tried in this province (even if they should be indicted by such grand jurors as shall be chosen by the sheriff of the county in the same manner that we have mentioned that petty jurors are to be returned) but the person indicted with such witnesses as he and the prosecutor (which will be the crown) shall judge proper, shall be sent to either of the other colonies, or even to Great Britain, to be tried for murdering the inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay. And provision is also made to prevent our meeting together in our corporate capacity as a town, unless it be once in the month of March for the election of the town officers, except the matter or business of the meeting is laid before the governor, and his leave in writing is obtained for a meeting of the town.

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There is but one way we can conceive of, to prevent what is to be deprecated by all good men, and ought by all possible means to be prevented, *viz*, The horrors that must follow an open rupture between Great Britain and her colonies; or on our part, a subjection to absolute slavery: And that is by affecting the trade and interest of Great Britain, so deeply as shall induce her to withdraw her oppressive hand. There can be no doubt of our succeeding to the utmost of our wishes if we universally come into a solemn league, not to import goods from Great Britain, and not to buy any goods that shall hereafter be imported from thence, until our grievances shall be redressed. To these, or even to the lease of these shameful impositions, we trust in God, our countrymen never will submit.

We have received such assurances from our brethren in every part of the province of their readiness to adopt such measures as may be likely to save our country, that we have not the least doubt of an almost universal agreement for this purpose; in confidence of this, we have drawn up a form of a covenant to be subscribed by all adult persons of both sexes; which we have sent to every town in the province, and that we might not give our enemies time to counteract us, we have endeavoured that every town should be furnished with such a copy on or before the fourteenth day of this month, and we earnestly desire that you would use your utmost endeavours that the subscription paper may be filled up as soon as possible, that so they who are in expectation of overthrowing our liberties may be discouraged from prosecuting their wicked designs; as we look upon this the last and only method of preserving our land from slavery without drenching it in blood, may God prosper every undertaking which tends to the salvation of his people. We are, &c.

Signed by order and in behalf of the
Committee of Correspondence for
Boston.
WILLIAM COOPER Clerk[1]

BOSTON, JUNE 8, 1774.

[Addressed]
For
The Town-Clerk
of Douglass —

[1] "William Cooper Clerk" is an autograph signature. Near the wax of the seal, still visible, are written a few words, apparently "S Jenison Or Town." No doubt this was Samuel Jennison (1733–1790), later elected a member of the Provincial Congress from Douglas: see W. A. Emerson, History of Douglas, pp. 68–70; G. F. Daniels, History of Oxford, pp. 559–560; Vital Records of Oxford, p. 289.

The Massachusetts Historical Society owns two copies of this broadside.

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Of the Solemn League and Covenant itself, two printed forms exist. Uncertainty prevails as to which of these was the one sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence — a problem which will be discussed later. For purposes of comparison the two forms, respectively designated A and B, are here printed in parallel columns:[1]

[A]

WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of the town of[2] having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the liberties of North-America, and more especially the present distressed condition of this insulted province, embarrassed as it is by several acts of the British parliament, tending to the entire subversion of our natural and charter rights; among which is the act for blocking up the harbour of Boston: and being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to preserve and recover the much injured constitution of our country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of a civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the island of Great Britain: Do, in the presence of God,[3] solemnly and in good faith,[4] covenant

[B]

WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of the town of having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the liberties of North-America, and more especially the present distressed condition of this insulted province, embarrassed as it is by several acts of the British parliament, tending to the entire subversion of our natural and charter rights; among which is the act for blocking up the harbour of Boston: and being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to preserve and recover the much injured constitution of our country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of a civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the island of Great Britain, Do, in the presence of God, solemnly and in good faith, covenant

One, with the wax of the seal still visible, is addressed "For the Committee of Correspondence for Salem." The other ends with the words "We are, &c.;" after which is written in ink in Cooper's hand:

June 8. 1774.

By Order of the Committee
of Correspondence for Boston,
William Cooper Clerk.

[1] Form A is copied from the document exhibited to-day. It is a folded sheet which, opened, measures 13¾ inches in width by 20 in height. The covenant is printed on the first page. The alterations made in the Westford meeting of July 4 are indicated in footnotes, all the alterations being in ink.

Form B is copied from a broadside owned by the American Antiquarian Society. It measures 7½ inches in width by 12½ in height.

[2] In the Westford document, the name "Westford" has been inserted.

[3] The words "in the presence of God" are crossed out in the Westford document.

[4] The words "and in good faith" are crossed out in the Westford document.

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and engage with each other, 1st, That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the said island of Great Britain, until the said act for blocking up the said harbour be repealed, and a full[1] restoration of our charter rights be obtained. And,

2dly, That there may be the less temptation to others to continue in the said, now dangerous commerce, we do in like manner solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase or consume, or suffer any person, by, for or under us to purchase or consume, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise which shall arrive in America from Great Britain aforesaid, from and after the last day of August next ensuing. And in order as much as in us lies to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure, entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights, we agree to break off all trade, commerce and dealings whatever with all persons, who perfering their own private interest to the salvation [of [their now perishing country, shall still continue to import goods from Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who do import.

3dly, That such persons may not have it in their power to impose upon us by any pretence whatever, we further agree to purchase no article of merchandize from them, or any of them, who shall not have signed this, or a similar covenant, or will not produce an oath, certified by a magistrate to be by them taken to the following

and engage with each other, 1st, That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the island of Great Britain, until the said act for blocking up the said harbour be repealed, and a full restoration of our charter rights be obtained. And,

2ly, That there may be the less temptation to others to continue in the said, now dangerous commerce, we do in like manner solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase or consume, or suffer any person, by, for or under us to purchase or consume, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares or merchandize which shall arrive in America from Great Britain aforesaid, from and after the last day of August next ensuing. And in order as much as in us lies to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure, entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights, we agree to break off all trade, commerce and dealings whatever with all persons, who, prefering their own private interest to the salvation of their now perishing country, shall still continue to import goods from Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who do import, and never to renew any commerce or trade with them.

And, Whereas the promoting of industry, œconomy, arts and manufactures among ourselves is of the last importance to the civil and religious welfare of a community; we engage,

3ly, That from and after the first day of October next ensuing, we will, not by ourselves, or any for, by, or under us, purchase or use any goods, wares, manufactures or merchandize, whensoever or howsoever imported from Great Britain, until the harbour of Boston shall be opened, and our charter rights restored. And,

[1] The word "full" is crossed out in the Westford document.

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purpose: *viz.* I of in the county of do solemnly swear that the goods I have now on hand, and propose for sale, have not, to the best of my knowledge, been imported from Great Britain, into any port of America since the last day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy four, and that I will not, contrary to the spirit of an agreement entering into through this province import or purchase of any person so importing any goods as aforesaid, until the port or harbour of Boston, shall be opened, and we are fully [1] restored to the free use of our constitutional and charter rights. And,

Lastly, we agree, that after this, or a similar covenant has been offered to any person and they refuse to sign it, or produce the oath, abovesaid, we will consider them as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connexions with them, so far as not to purchase of them, any article whatever,[2] and publish their names to the world.

Witness our hands, June,[3] 1774.

Lastly, As a refusal to come into any agreement which promises the deliverance of our country from the calamities it now feels, and which, like a torrent are rushing upon it with increasing violence, must evidence a disposition enimical to, or criminally negligent of, the common safety: We agree, that after this covenant has been offered to any person, and they refuse to sign it, we will consider them in the same light as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connexions with them forever, and publish their names to the world. Witness our hands, June, 1774.[4]

The document sent to Westford, exhibited to-day, is form A. At a town meeting held July 4, it was —

Voted unanimously to take under our consideration the Papers sent from Boston to our town in consequence of sd Boston Harbour being

[1] The word "fully" is crossed out in the Westford document.

[2] The words "imported from Great Britain" are here interlined in the Westford document.

[3] The last two letters in "June" have been crossed out and "ly" written above, and "4th" has been inserted in the blank space.

[4] At the bottom of the broadside the words "This came from Sutton" are written in ink in the hand of Isaiah Thomas. I am greatly indebted to our associates Dr. Charles L. Nichols, for ascertaining what documents bearing on the subject are owned by the American Antiquarian Society, and Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, for sending the documents to Boston for my inspection.

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Blocked up. Voted unanimously that the covenant lastly sent to Westford (with some small alterations thereon) should be signed by our town.

Voted that the Covenant signed by the inhabitants of Westford Relating to Boston affairs be kept or Left in the town Clerk's hand During the town's Pleasure, and also to Return the names of those who do not sine this paper.[1]

The "some small alterations" made are indicated in the footnotes to form A. The document contains the following signatures, here, for convenience, arranged alphabetically:[2]

John Abbot
John Abbot Junr
Samuel Adams jur
Thomas Adams
Oliver Barret
Nathaniel Barrett
John Barritt
Oliuer Bates
Benjamin Beels
John Bigelow
Silas Bigelow
Asa Bixby
David Bixby
Jacob Bixby
Levi Bixby
Calvin Blanchard
James Blogget
Elazor Blood
Abel Boynton
Josiah Boynton
Nathl Boynton
Peter Brown
Moses Burge
John Bushe
William Butterfeild
Samuel Butterfield
William Butterfield iuner
Benjamin Carver
Jonathan Carver
Thomas Carver
Ephraim Chambers
Isaac Chandler
William Chandler
Joseph Comengs
Thomas Coming jur
Isaac Comings
Thos. Comings
Thomes Comings
Abel Corey
Ebenezer Cory
Ephraim Cuming
Ephraim Cuming
Timothy Cunmings
Daniel Dudley
Benjamin Dutton
Benjamin Dutton jun^{r}
David Dutton
Ephraim Dutton
Joseph Dutton
Joseph Dutton Jur
Samll F[ ][3]
Saml Farwell
Samuel Fasset
Amos Fletcher
Amos Fletcher iur
Asaph Fletcher, med^{e}
Excepted[4]
Benjamin Fletcher
Benjamin Fletcher Juner
David Fletcher
Gershom Fletcher
James Fletcher
John Fletcher
Jonathan Fletcher
Jonathan Fletcher Junor
Jonathan Fletcher the 3d
Joshua Fletcher
Levi Fletcher
Nehemiah Fletcher
Pelat Fletcher
Samuel Fletcher
Seth Fletcher
Thos Fletcher
Timothy Fletcher
Timothy Fletcher jur
Willard Fletcher
William Fletcher
Benjamin Forster
Elias Forster
Ebenezer Foster
Smith Foster

[1] E. R. Hodgman, History of the Town of Westford, p. 95. The town clerk of Westford at that time was John Abbot (1713–1791).

[2] Most of the signers are mentioned in the genealogical section of Hodgman's History of the Town of Westford, pp. 435–486.

[3] It is impossible to decipher this surname.

[4] On July 10, 1775, "Chose Doctor Asaph Fletcher to represent this town in the great and general Court to be held at Watertown" (Hodgman, History of Westford, p. 113).

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Daniel Goodhue
David Goodhue
Nehemiah Green
John Hadley Junr
Jonas Hadley
Jonathan Hadley
Willis Hall
Amo[s] [1] Hardy
Garshom Heald
Thomas Heald
Amos Hildreth
Elijah Hildreth
Eph[m] Hildreth jur
Eph[m] Hildreth 3d
Hosea Hildreth
John Hildreth
Jon[a] Hildreth
Timothy Hildreth
Will Hildreth
Zechariah Hildreth
Zechariah Hildreth Juner
Nathaniel Holmes
John Hullany [2]
Jona[th] Keep
Abner Kent
Abner Kent Ju[r]
David Keyes
Jonathan Keyes
Joseph Keyes
Daniel Keys
Francies Kidder
Thomas Kidder
Richard Kneeland
Israil Kyes
Issachar Kyes
Samuel Kyes
Thomas Meeds
Jonathan Minot
William Nickols
John Nuttinggir
Benja Osgood
Amos Parker
Joshua Parker
Moses Parker
Moses Parker Junr
James Pollard
Eben[r] Presc[tt]
John Prescott
Jonas Prescott
Jonas Prescott jur
Jonas Prescott third
Joseph Prescott
Oliver Prescott
Timothy Prescott
Charles Procter
Ezekiel Procter
James Procter
John Procter
Leonard Procter
Nathan Proctor
Daniel Raymond
Abijah Read
Benjamin Read
Eleazar Read
John Read
Jos. Read
Joshua Read
Lenard Read
Samson Read
Sam[el] Read
Sam[l] Read Jur
Silas Read
Simeon Read
Thomas Read
Willard Read
Will[m] Read
William Read Ju
Amos Ressell
Abijah Richardson
Tho[s] Richardson
Thomas Richardson Junr
Henry Rickerson
Jacob Robbens
Jaremiah Robbins
Zech Robins
Jacob Robinson
John Robinson
Obadiah Rogers
Thomas Rogers
Francis Smith
Thomas Smith
Jona Spauding
Andrew Spaulding
James Spaulding
Josiah Spaulding
Phillip Spaulding
Silas Spaulding
Solomon Spaulding
Timothy Spaulding
Ephraim Spauling
William Sprat
Levi Temple
John Underwood
Joseph Underwood
Timothy Underwood
Jacob Wendl
Solomon Wheat
Solomon Wheat Junr
Samuel White
Daniel Whiting
Daniell Whitney Jur
Abner Wilkins
Ebenezer Willis
Amos Wright
Ebenezer Wright
Ephraim Wright
Henry Wright
John Wright
Joseph Wright
Joseph Wright Junr
Pelatiah Wright
Samuel Wright
Simeon Wright
Stephen Wright
Thomas Wright
Zaccheus Wright
Asahel Wyman [3]

[1] This christian name is badly blotted.

[2] This surname is doubtful.

[3] In a town meeting held at Westminster August 3 it was "voted that the Inhabitants would sign a Covenant that might be Drawn up and laid before the Town;" a committee was chosen to prepare one, and on August 19 the town voted "almost unanimously" to accept the proposed covenant. Though not en-

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The form sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence was so drastic that repugnance to signing it was immediately displayed, not only by Loyalists but by many who were devoted to the patriot cause. Accordingly, on June 10 the Boston Committee of Correspondence issued the following letter:[1]

GENTLEMEN, BOSTON, June 10, 1774.

WHEREAS several of our brethren, members of the committees of correspondence in the neighbouring towns, have since our letter of the 8th instant applied to us, to know whether it was expected that the form of the covenant which we inclosed in our letter should be literally adopted by the several towns: We have thought it necessary to inform our respectable fellow countrymen, that the committee, neither in this or any other matter mean to dictate to them, but are humbly of opinion, that if they keep to the spirit of that covenant, and solemnly engage not to purchase any goods which shall be imported from Great Britain after the time stipulated, and agree to suspend dealing with such persons as shall persist in counteracting the salutary design, by continuing to import or purchase British articles so imported, the end we proposed will be fully answered, and the salvation of North-America, under providence, thereby insured.

We are,
Gentlemen,
Your friends and fellow countrymen,
Signed by order and in behalf of the committee of
Correspondence for Boston.
WILLIAM COOPER Clerk.[2]

---

tered on the town records, the original document has been found and is printed, together with the names of forty-seven signers, in W. S. Heywood's History of Westminster, pp. 152–153. It differs materially from forms A and B. Heywood says:

The document is complete as far as it goes, and with the signature fills the two pages of a half sheet of foolscap paper. There are indications tending to show that the other half has been torn from the one preserved, and it may be presumed that there were upon it names of other well-known residents, who would be likely to take the same self-sacrificing and heroic stand in behalf of their own and their country's liberties (p. 153).

Is it not probable that the missing half-sheet contained the printed covenant — either form A or form B, Westminster being in Worcester County?

[1] Copied from a broadside owned by the American Antiquarian Society. It measures 6⅝ inches in width by 9 in height. The Massachusetts Historical Society owns two copies of this broadside: one measures 7¼ inches in width by 9¾ in height; the other measures 9 inches in width by 15 in height.

[2] "William Cooper Clerk" is an autograph signature.

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A Committee of Correspondence, consisting of William Young, Timothy Bigelow, and John Smith, was appointed in Worcester on May 18, 1773;[1] and on June 13, 1774, this committee sent out the following letter:[2]

Worcester June 13th. 1774.

GENTLEMEN.

MANY persons in this county conceiving that an agreement not to purchase the goods which are or shall be imported before the 31st. of August next can answer no valuable end, provided the goods which might be thereafter imported could certainly be avoided: And as the committee of Boston in their last letter have informed us that they do not mean to dictate to us, and are of opinion that if we keep to the spirit of the covenant communicated by them, by solemnly engaging not to purchase any goods which shall be imported from Great Britain after the time stipulated, and agree to suspend dealing with such persons as shall persist in counteracting the salutary design, by continuing to im-

[1] Worcester Town Records (Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, iv. 206). The Worcester covenant was adopted at a town meeting held June 20 (iv. 230–233). A protest, signed by fifty-two persons, was immediately drawn up and entered in the town records. It was also printed in the Boston News Letter of June 30, p. 2/1, and in the Boston Post Boy of July 4, p. 1/2, where it was preceded by the following note:

Messi'rs PRINTERS,

If you please you may give the following Protestation, &c. of us a few friends of truth, peace and order, a place in your paper: For it is believed that we, and many others thro' the province, have too long already, held our peace.

Then comes the protest, with the "Attest, CLARK CHANDLER, Town Clerk," and the names of the signers. At a town meeting held August 24, the town clerk was severely censured and ordered to erase the record of protest (Worcester Town Records, iv. 236–239). A facsimile of an erased page is given in Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Worcester (1876), p. 113.

It is stated in the History of Worcester County (Boston, 1879, ii. 578, 579) that "'The American Political Society' was formed Dec. 27, 1773;" and that "At the monthly meeting of the Political Society in June [1774], it was voted to sign a covenant not to purchase any English goods until the port of Boston was opened, and to discontinue intercourse with those declining to subscribe." The American Antiquarian Society (Worcester Papers, i. 20) owns an undated draft of a covenant which accords in sentiment, but not in wording (being still more drastic), with the Boston covenant. At the end is written: "It is thought best not to sign any agreement yet, as it is expected we shall have the plan of a General one from Boston very soon. Yours Wm Henshaw. Please return this to the bearer Mr Timothy Bigelow."

[2] Copied from a broadside owned by the American Antiquarian Society. It measures 7½ inches in width by 10 in height.

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port or purchase British articles, the end we proposed will be fully answered.

We are of opinion, that the enclosed covenant is by no means inconsistent with the spirit or intention of the form sent out by them: we therefore beg leave to present it to your consideration, and are with much esteem,

GENTLEMEN,
Your friends and fellow-countrymen,
by order of the committee
Wm YOUNG[1] Chairman.

The "enclosed Covenant" was evidently a printed one: but was it form A or form B? As already stated, uncertainty prevails on this point. Thus Force, after printing the two concluding paragraphs of the letter issued by the Boston Committee of Correspondence on June 8, proceeds to give the "form of a covenant sent to every town in Massachusetts." Then follows form B.[2] That is, Force assumes that form B was the form sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence. On the other hand, the Massachusetts Historical Society owns a copy of form A which, as our associate Mr. Tuttle informs me, has been in the possession of the Society for half a century or more, and which has written in ink (but in whose hand is unknown) the words: "C. Worcester Covenant." Neither Force nor the writer of the manuscript note offers any proof in support of his contention.

The problem may be considered from several points of view. (1) As the form sent out from Boston was frequently, if not generally, regarded as too drastic, it is reasonable to infer that the more drastic of the two forms was the one sent out from Boston, and of the two forms A and B, A is the more drastic. (2) Every town in Massachusetts received a copy of the Boston form. Westford is in Middlesex County and so presumably would have received only the Boston form. The document exhibited to-day is form A. (3) Every town

[1] "Wm Young" is an autograph signature. The broadside was no doubt printed in Boston, as the type is apparently the same and the paper has the same watermark as form A of the covenant. At all events, it certainly was not printed at Worcester, as sometimes stated, since Thomas himself said that "The first Thing ever printed in Worcester" was the Massachusetts Spy of May 3, 1775 (Nichols, Bibliography of Worcester, pp. vii, 2; Nichols, Isaiah Thomas: Printer, Writer & Collector, p. 57).

[2] American Archives, 4th Series, i. 397–398.

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in Worcester County received a copy of the Boston form and also a copy of the Worcester form. At the bottom of the broadside (form B) owned by the American Antiquarian Society is written, in the hand of Isaiah Thomas, the words "This came from Sutton." Since Sutton is in Worcester County, the Sutton document might conceivably be either the Boston form or the Worcester form; but as a matter of fact the Sutton document is form B, and so presumably is the Worcester form. (4) Five newspapers were published in Boston in 1774, but only two of these printed the Solemn League and Covenant. It first appeared in the Boston News Letter of June 23 (p. 2/1), where it is preceded by these words: "*The Publishers of the Massachusetts Gazette are requested to insert the following* Covenant, *viz.*" Then follows form A. It next appeared in the Boston Post Boy of June 27, preceded by this note: "*The following is the Letter which accompanies the solemn League and Covenant now circulating through this Province*" (p. 1/2). Then follows the letter of June 8 sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence, after which comes "THE LEAGUE AND COVENANT," and this is form A. It is reasonable to assume that the only form printed in the Boston papers was the form sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence.

(5) Thus far general probabilities only have been considered. Let us now turn to forms A and B themselves. The preamble and the first article are identical in the two forms, except that in the first article the word "said," which in form A precedes "island," is not in form B. The second article is identical in the two forms, except that the concluding words of form B — "and never to renew any commerce or trade with them" — are not in form A. In form B the third article has a brief preamble which is not in form A. The third and fourth articles differ in the two forms, the chief difference being that in form A the signers "further agree to purchase no article of merchandize from them [importers], or any of them, who shall not have signed this, or a similar covenant, or will not produce an oath, certified by a magistrate to be by them taken to the following purpose." Form B contains nothing about an oath. As already said, repugnance to signing the form sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence was immediately displayed. At a town meeting held June 27 it was "Moved & seconded that the Comittee of Correspondence be desired to lay the Letters they have wrote to the other

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Towns and Governments since the receipt of the Port Bill, — the question being put — Passed in the Affirmative;" [1] and, the meeting having been adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house, —

A Motion was made & passed, That all Letters received as well as the Answers returned, be laid before the Town and read —

After the Town Clerk had accordingly read a Number of Letters, a Motion was made that the said Vote be so far Reconsidered, as that the Reading of all other Letters previous to the Covenant sent into the Country by the Comittee of Correspondence, & the Letters accompanying the same, be suspended for the present, & that the Town proceed to the Reading of said Letter & Covenant, & any other Letters that may be particularly called for —

The said Covenant & a Number of Letters having been read, a Motion was made, that some Censure be now passed By the Town on the Conduct of the Comittee of Correspondence; and that said Committee be annihilated.[2]

A discussion followed and the meeting was again adjourned to the 28th, when —

The Motion for Censuring & Annihilating the Comittee of Correspondence again Considered, & after long Debates the Question was accordingly put; which passed in the Negative by a great Majority —

It was then moved, that the following Vote be passed, Viz[t]. "That the Town bear open Testimony that they are abundantly satisfied of the upright Intentions, and much approve the honest Zeal of the Comittee of Correspondence & desire that they would persevere with their usual Activity & Firmness, continuing stedfast in the Way of well Doing — And the Question being put, passed in the Affirmative by a *Vast Majority*.[3]

But this action in town meeting by no means intimidated those opposed to the Boston form of the Covenant. On June 28 John Rowe wrote: "The Debates very warm on both sides — I think are wrong. I mean the Committee [of Correspondence] are wrong in the matter. The Merchants have taken up against them, they have in my Opinion exceeded their Power & the Motion was put that they

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 177.
[2] xviii. 177–178.
[3] xviii. 178.

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be dismissed." [1] On June 29 two protests were drawn up, one signed by one hundred and twenty-eight, the other signed by eight, among the latter John Andrews. On July 22 Andrews wrote:

> . . . have enclos'd you the *Covenant*, with many sensible remarks upon it, together with the two protests; ye latter of which (among ye number of ye respective signers, you'll observe, I have the honor to be one) is humourously called the *Little Pope;* the declaration following it, (wherein our reasons for a dissent are given in a more explicit manner than in the protest) should be glad you'd attend to.[2]

What Andrews sent his correspondent was no doubt a copy either of the Boston Evening Post of July 4, or of the Boston News Letter of July 7, in both of which were printed the two protests and what Andrews called "the declaration" following the protest signed by him. This declaration reads in part as follows:

> Messirs. FLEETS,
>
> WHEREAS a certain Paper, under the Denomination of a Covenant, or a Non-Consumption Agreement, has been sent by the Committee of Correspondence of this Town to many Towns in the Province, and as the People may be led from that, to imagine that the same was laid before the Town and approved: — That the Public may have an Opportunity of forming a right Judgment of the Matter, I beg Leave to lay before them the following Facts and Observations. . . .
>
> Thirdly, they are not to purchase any Article of any one who has not signed this or a similar Covenant, or taken the Oath that the Goods he offers for Sale have not been imported from Great Britain since August 1774, and that he will not import or purchase of any Person importing, untill all our constitutional and Charter-Rights are restored.
>
> And lastly, That when this Covenant is offered to any Person and he refuses to sign, or take the Oath, he is to be considered as a contumacious Importer, and no Article whatsoever be purchased of him — and his Name to be published to the World.[3]

This declaration is directed against the Boston form; that form contains an oath; there is an oath in form A but not in form B;

[1] Letters and Diary, pp. 276–277.

[2] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 331.

[3] Boston Evening Post, July 4, p. 2/2–3. What Andrews called "The declaration" was also printed in the Boston Post Boy of July 4, p. 2/2, but it there precedes (not follows) the two protests.

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therefore the Boston form must be form A; and hence the Worcester form must be form B. In spite of the numerous articles that appeared in the Boston newspapers in favor of or in opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, I have noted only a single contemporary allusion in print to the fact that two forms were printed, and that one of these was known as the Worcester covenant. The Massachusetts Spy of June 30 contained this item:

WHEREAS scruples have arisen in the minds of many well disposed persons, against signing either of the printed covenants; it is thought proper in order to remove said scruples to lay before the public the substance of what passed at Braintree.

At a town-meeting at Braintree on Monday last, where they unanimously agreed upon a covenant for non-consumption, and which was reported to the town by their committee of fifteen, chosen for that purpose, and in which, they recommended a fast to be on the 14th July next; and agreed not to purchase any goods of any kind whatever, of any pedlars or hawkers, and to put the laws in execution against them as they might have opportunity; and at the end of the covenant they had a clause to this purpose, *saving to themselves the right of altering the covenant in such manner as they might think proper, after the result of the expected congress may be made public:* In other respects it was much like the Worcester covenant, only the non-signers were only to be considered as *practical enemies to their country:* The town directed the same committee to prepare a fair copy, and circulate the same to be signed as soon as may be, and which is now circulating (p. 3/1).[1]

The words "practical enemies to their country" are clearly an allusion to "the disposition enimical to, or criminally negligent of, the common safety" — which latter words are found in form B but not in form A, thus confirming the conclusion reached above that form A was the Boston covenant and form B the Worcester covenant.

[1] At a town meeting held at Braintree on June 27 a committee was appointed "to prepare a draught of a covenant to be laid before the Town;" the draught offered by the committee the same day was "Voted accepted, and was then proposed the same should be offer^{d} to the Members of the s^{d} Town for signing &c." The meeting then adjourned to July 25, when "The above said covenant having had some exceptions made, so it was offer^{d} to the Town for amendment which was accordingly done, and then almost every one Present sign^{d} the same, and it was then order^{d} by the Town to the Members of the Town in the several Precincts that were not Present at the Meeting for signing and then to be lodg^{d} with the clerk of s^{d} Town" (Braintree Records, p. 449).

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That this conclusion is correct is placed beyond the possibility of a doubt by an unprinted document among the Pickering Papers, owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. In June the Committee of Correspondence of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, sent out a printed letter relating to the Boston Port Bill, in which it is said that —

> It is our Duty to take into Consideration every probable method to save this Country from absolute Slavery; & as we at present apprehend that a Suspension of all Commercial Connexions with Great Brittain, may be effectual for this purpose and as the same Measures are adopted in our Sister Colonies, we recommend this as a likely means, under God, of recovering & securing to ourselves and Posterity our valuable Rights & Privileges & of preventing the horrors of civil War. . . .
>
> We therefore have drawn up & now inclosed a form of a COVENANT, to be subscribed by all adult Persons of both Sexes, which we have sent to all the Towns in this Province; we earnestly wish that you would use your utmost Endeavors that the Subscription paper may be filled up as soon as possible.[1]

The covenant[2] enclosed is substantially identical with form B, a few changes only being made. The adoption of this covenant was considered at a town meeting held in Falmouth (now Portland) on June 30, when it was voted that before taking action several towns in Massachusetts should be written to. Accordingly, the following letter was sent to Salem:

> FALMOUTH July 1st 1774.
>
> GENTLEMEN,
>
> Yesterday we had a meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town, to take into consideration the present alarming state of our Public Affairs, and it being proposed, that the non-importation Agreement form'd at Worcester shou'd be adopted here, the Town after serious consideration & debate thereon, voted, "That *we* shou'd write to the Towns of Boston, Charlestown, Newbury-Port, Marblehead, Glocester and Salem to

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 481–482.

[2] It is printed in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 482–483. When a copy of the covenant reached Dover, on June 28 Jeremy Belknap wrote a vigorous protest, which doubtless had its effect, for on July 4 "The Selectmen & Committee of Correspondence of this Town met & agreed to suspend this matter till they shall hear what is the Result of the approaching Congress, upon the Subject" (ibid. ii. 484–486).

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know *their* minds, relative to the non-importation Agreement, and make report at the adjournment viz the 21. July current" —

They very generally approve of the Worcester Plan, but think they shou'd be too forward, if they shou'd adopt it, before they hear from the abovementioned places —

Your information, therefore, respecting the general Sense of your Town, & whether they have come into such an Agreement or not, wou'd be highly acceptable to this Town, and very agreeable to — Gentlemen

Your most obedient &
very humˡ servᵗ
(In behalf of the Committee of
Correspondence for Falmouth)
SAMᴸ FREEMAN Clerk [1]

To the Committee of
Correspondence for the
Town of Salem —
[*Addressed*]
To
The Committee of Correspondence
for the Town of
Salem
[*Endorsed*]
Comᵗᵉᵉ of Falmouth
to
Salem Comᵗᵉᵉ
July 1, 1774

Here, it will be observed, the covenant under consideration is alluded to as "the non-importation Agreement form'd at Worcester" — thus again confirming the conclusion reached above. The reply from Salem, as it is not without interest, is also given:

SALEM July 12 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Comᵗᵉᵉ of correspondence for this town to inform you that it is their opinion, & the opinion of the town in general as they apprehend, that it is expedient to suspend the measures for a cessation of commerce with Great Britain, till we know the result of the deliberations of the grand american congress. Because the time is near at hand; — because we do not find that any of the southern colonies nor Boston itself intend to pursue active measures till then; and because therefore if we should take any steps towards this cessation of commerce,

[1] Pickering Papers, xxxix. 57.

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it will probably be of little avail. Further it will doubtless be most effectual if the plan be uniform in all the colonies; but this can happen only by adopting that which the congress shall propose.

I am, gentlemen (in behalf
of the Com^tee^ of Correspondence
for Salem)
your very humble servant
TIM. PICKERING Clerk [1]

To the com^tee^ of
Correspondence for
Falmouth

It may be added, in conclusion, that there appears to be some misapprehension with respect to the Solemn League and Covenant. Thus Justin Winsor stated that "One of the results in Massachusetts because of these oppressive acts" — that is, the Boston Port Bill, etc. — "was a retaliatory 'Solemn League and Covenant' agreed upon in the provincial assembly, — a combination made more or less effectual by the active agency of Boston and Worcester in issuing broadsides against the use of imported British goods." [2]

[1] Pickering Papers, xxxiii. 96.

[2] Narrative and Critical History of America, vi. 96–97. The misapprehension is due to confusion between the Provincial Committee of Correspondence and the Boston Committee of Correspondence. The General Court met in Boston on May 25, was adjourned on May 28 to meet at Salem on June 7, and was dissolved on June 17. On May 26 it was ordered in the House of Representatives that "the Committee of Correspondence be, and they are hereby directed to Write to the Committees of Correspondence of all the British Colonies on this Continent; inclosing a Copy of the unprecedented Act of the British Parliament for shutting up the Port of Boston, and otherwise punishing the Inhabitants of said Town: And desire their immediate Attention to an Act, design'd to suppress the Spirit of Liberty in America" (House Journal, p. 9). The only action taken with respect to non-importation was on June 17, when, nine days after the Boston Committee of Correspondence had sent out the Solemn League and Covenant, —

Upon a Motion made, the House pass'd the following Resolve, viz.

WHEREAS this and his Majesty's other Colonies in North-America, have long been struggling under the heavy Hand of Power; and our dutiful Petitions for the Redress of our intolerable Grievances, have not only been disregarded and frown'd upon, but the Design totally to alter the free Constitutions of Civil Government in British America, and establish arbitrary Governments and reduce the Inhabitants to Slavery, appears more and more to be fixed and determined: It is therefore strongly recommended by this House to the Inhabitants of this Province, that they renounce altogether the Consumption of India Teas, and as far as in them lies, discontinue the Use of all Goods and Manufactures

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The document, however, did not emanate from the General Assembly, but was hatched in secret by the Boston Committee of Correspondence. Again, it is frequently asserted that the Solemn League and Covenant was widely signed. No doubt this is substantially true, though exactly how true only a careful examination of town records and histories would show, and to make such an examination would hardly be worth the labor involved since events followed one another with such rapidity that the Solemn League and Covenant was soon rendered of slight practical importance. A very hasty glance through various volumes shows that the Solemn League and Covenant is not mentioned in the town records of Amherst, Brookline, Dudley, Fitchburg, Manchester, and Plymouth; that, though adopted by other towns, it was apparently rarely adopted without modifications, either in the Boston form or in the Worcester form;[1] and that, as already stated, it gave rise to many protests from patriots as well as from Loyalists.

whatsoever, that shall be Imported from the East Indies and Great-Britain, until the publick Grievances of America shall be radically and totally redressed. And it is further recommended to all, that they give all possible Encouragement to the Manufactures of America. And it is moreover strongly recommended to the Inhabitants aforesaid, that they use their utmost Endeavours to suppress Pedlars and Petty-Chapmen (who are of late become a very great Nuisance) by putting in Execution the good and wholesome Laws of this Province for that Purpose (House Journal, p. 46).

[1] See E. S. Stearns, History of Ashburnham, pp. 133–134; W. Barry, History of Framingham, pp. 90–91; J. H. Temple, History of Framingham, p. 267; J. G. Metcalf, Annals of Mendon, pp. 320–321; J. R. Trumbull, History of Northampton, ii. 343–344; and cf. pp. 110, 111 note 3, 113 note 1, 117, 118 note, above. The Massachusetts Spy of June 30, 1774, said that on June 20 the people of Charlton "generally signed a covenant, obliging themselves, to withdraw all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain; and not to purchase, or use any goods imported from thence, from and after the last day of August next, or till the Port of Boston be opened, and all our charter and constitutional rights are fully restored; but a few individuals refused to sign" (p. 3/1). On June 29 Governor Gage issued "A Proclamation For discouraging certain illegal Combinations," which was printed in the contemporary Boston newspapers; also in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 45–48. Cf. ibid. xi. 392–394; Moore, Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution, p. 65.

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Mr. HORACE E. WARE read the following —

NOTES ON THE TERM INDIAN SUMMER

The term Indian summer has been learnedly discussed by Mr. Albert Matthews [1] and by Professor George L. Kittredge.[2] In these notes I present some instances of the use of the term in addition to those given in the two publications referred to.

In the regulations of the British Board of Trade made January 12, 1899, under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, the term Indian summer is used to designate the fine season in the Indian seas between the limits of Suez and Singapore; and the initial letters I.S. are prescribed to indicate the maximum load line on the vessel showing the depth to which it can be loaded for voyages during the fine season between those limits. Certain provisions of those regulations will show how the term is applied and the connection in which it is used:

3. Such maximum load lines shall be as follows, and the upper edge of such lines shall respectively indicate:

For fresh water: The maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded in fresh water.

For Indian summer: The maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded for voyages during the fine season in the Indian seas, between the limits of Suez and Singapore.

For summer: The maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded for voyages (other than Indian summer voyages) from European and Mediterranean ports between the months of April and September, both inclusive, and as to voyages in other parts of the world (other than Indian summer voyages) the maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded during the corresponding or recognized summer months.

For winter: The maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded for voyages (other than Indian summer voyages and summer voyages) from European and Mediterranean ports between the months of October and March, both inclusive, and as to voyages in other parts of the world the maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded during the corresponding or recognized winter months.

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[1] The Term Indian Summer, read before this Society in December, 1901 (Publication, vii. 241–244); printed in Monthly Weather Review for January and February, 1902, xxx. 19–28, 69–79, and also in a separate pamphlet.

[2] The Old Farmer and his Almanack, 1904, pp. 191–198.

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For winter (North Atlantic): The maximum depth to which the vessel can be loaded for voyages to or from the Mediterranean or any European port, from or to ports in British North America or eastern ports in the United States, north of Cape Hatteras, between the months of October and March, both inclusive.

Such maximum load lines shall be distinguished by initial letters conspicuously marked opposite such horizontal lines as aforesaid, such initial letters being as follows:

F.W. — Fresh water.
I.S. — Indian summer.
S. — Summer.
W. — Winter.
W.N.A. — Winter, North Atlantic.[1]

C. Fitzhugh Talman, professor in charge of the Library of the Weather Bureau at Washington, has written an interesting note on the use of the term Indian summer in the regulations referred to. The following extract from Professor Talman's note is in line with our consideration of the subject:

The season of fine weather in the Indian seas (i.e., the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and adjacent waters) is the period from November to March, inclusive, when the northeast monsoon prevails, or more especially the months January — March, inclusive, when these seas are entirely free from tropical cyclones. Astronomically, this season is "winter" rather than "summer." It is, however, the dry season, and it is not uncommon in tropical countries to identify the dry season with summer and the rainy season with winter. This custom is especially common in Spanish-speaking tropical countries, where the dry season is commonly called "verano" (summer) and the wet season "invierno" (winter), regardless of the ordinary calendar. However, the present writer is not familiar with this use of the terms "summer" and "winter" in literature relating to or emanating from India. Certainly the "winter" of guide book and travel literature concerning India is the cold season, i.e., January and February.

We should be glad to obtain information as to the history of the term "Indian summer" as applied by British sailors to the season of fine weather in the Indian seas, and also as to the limits of the season thus designated. If the term was current in this sense as early as the eighteenth century, the fact may have some bearing upon the history of

[1] Robert Temperley, The Merchant Shipping Acts, London, 1907, pp. 710–711.

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the term in its more familiar application to a spell of fine, tranquil weather in autumn, though this does not, at present, seem likely.[1]

It is worthy of note that the phrase Indian summer both in the Board of Trade regulations and in its use with us designates a season when the sun is south of the equator. I have not had opportunity to investigate as to how the term Indian summer came to be used in these regulations. We all of course would be glad of information tending to solve this interesting question.

In Philip Freneau's October's Address, one in the collection of his poems published in 1815, we have, perhaps, the first appearance of the term Indian summer in poetry. The poem opens with these two lines by way of prelude:

> October came the thirtieth day:
> And thus I heard October say;

Then follow seven stanzas, all being within quotation marks except the last two lines of the last stanza. The first two stanzas run thus:

> "The lengthening nights and shortening days
> Have brought the year towards a close,
> The oak a leafless bough displays
> And all is hastening to repose;
> To make the most of what remains
> Is now to take the greater pains.
>
> "An orange hue the grove assumes,
> The indian-summer-days appear;
> When that deceitful summer comes
> Be sure to hail the winter near:
> If autumn wears a mourning coat
> Be sure, to keep the mind afloat.

The last stanza is as follows:

> "The cottage warm and cheerful heart
> Will cheat the stormy winter night,
> Will bid the glooms of care depart
> And to December give delight" —

[1] Monthly Weather Review, January, 1915, xliii. 44–45.

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Thus spoke October — rather gay,
Then seized his staff, and walk'd away.[1]

The two preliminary lines and these three stanzas give an idea of the scheme of the poem. The third line of the second stanza —

When that deceitful summer comes

lends countenance to Professor Kittredge's theory that the term Indian summer has allusion to the proverbial deceitfulness, or perhaps rather, instability, of the Indian character.

Philip Freneau was born January 2 (O. S.), 1752, in the City of New York. In 1762 the family established their home permanently on their estate Mount Pleasant, near Middletown Point, New Jersey, though Philip remained three years in New York at a boarding school. In November, 1768, he entered the Sophomore class at Princeton. Of this class President James Madison was also a member. Freneau received his degree in September, 1771, having written several poems during his course at college. After graduation he taught school awhile near Princess Anne, Maryland. During the period from 1784 to 1790 and during the three or four years ending with the year 1807, Freneau followed the sea in command of vessels. Many of his voyages were made irregularly along the coast between New York and Georgia, but some of them extended as far as Jamaica, Madeira, and the Azores. His experience must have qualified him to speak authoritatively on the weather — Indian summer and otherwise — of the eastern United States. His other work was practically all literary — writing and publishing his poems, of which some four collected editions appeared previous to that of 1815, editing newspapers and periodicals, and writing essays and miscellaneous articles.

Freneau died on December 18, 1832. The last years of his life were passed quietly at Mount Pleasant, which recently has been rechristened Freneau.

Mrs. Sigourney's poem The Indian Summer may well claim our attention. So far as I know this poem was first published in 1849,

[1] A Collection of Poems, on American Affairs, . . . Written between the year 1797 and the Present Time, i. 97–98. In 1902–1907 was published in three volumes The Poems of Philip Freneau, edited by Fred Lewis Pattee.

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though it may have been written several years before. As the poem, which is wholly in blank verse, is short, it is given entire:

WHEN was the red man's summer? When the rose
Hung its first banner out? When the gray rock,
Or the brown heath, the radiant kalmia clothed?
Or when the loiterer by the reedy brooks
Started to see the proud lobelia glow
Like living flame? When through the forest gleam'd
The rhododendron? or the fragrant breath
Of the magnolia swept deliciously
O'er the half laden nerve?
No. When the groves
In fleeting colours wrote their own decay,
And leaves fell eddying on the sharpen'd blast
That sang their dirge; when o'er their rustling bed
The red deer sprang, or fled the shrill-voiced quail,
Heavy of wing and fearful; when, with heart
Foreboding or depress'd, the white man mark'd
The signs of coming winter: then began
The Indian's joyous season.* Then the haze,
Soft and illusive as a fairy dream,
Lapp'd all the landscape in its silvery fold.
The quiet rivers, that were wont to hide
'Neath shelving banks, beheld their course betray'd
By the white mist that o'er their foreheads crept,
While wrapp'd in morning dreams, the sea and sky
Slept 'neath one curtain, as if both were merged
In the same element. Slowly the sun,
And all reluctantly, the spell dissolved,
And then it took upon its parting wing
A rainbow glory.
Gorgeous was the time,
Yet brief as gorgeous. Beautiful to thee,
Our brother hunter, but to us replete

* An aged chief said to our ancestors, "The white man's summer is past and gone, but that of the Indian begins when the leaves fall." [1]

[1] This appears to be the same tradition as that recounted by Charles Brockden Brown in a note in his translation of Volney, View of the Soil and Climate of the United States (Philadelphia, 1804), p. 210. If the tradition has a basis of fact, Brown's is undoubtedly the more correct version.

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With musing thoughts in melancholy train.
Our joys, alas! too oft were wo to thee.
Yet ah, poor Indian! whom we fain would drive
Both from our hearts, and from thy father's lands,
The perfect year doth bear thee on its crown,
And when we would forget, repeat thy name.[1]

Mrs. Sigourney, whose maiden name was Lydia Huntley, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1791; in 1819 she was married to Charles Sigourney of Hartford, in which city the remainder of her life was passed; and she died in 1865. Among her literary works were the poems Traits of the Aborigines of America (1822), and Pocahontas and other Poems (1841). Since she had given considerable thought to matters relating to the Indians,[2] we may infer, I think, that from early life she had been familiar with the story or tradition of the aged chief as related in the footnote. Whether the aged chief or any other Indian ever said this or not, if the tradition was in vogue during the years when Indian summer was first appearing in print and also for several years before, that fact may help to throw light upon the origin of the term and upon its original meaning.

Conditions of mistiness and smokiness in the atmosphere during Indian summer periods have been frequently noted. It is stated in divers publications that the Indian used to set fire to the underbrush

[1] Illustrated Poems (1849), pp. 141–142. In the preface, dated October 1, 1848, Mrs. Sigourney says: "The edition now presented to the public comprises selections from previous volumes, poems that have appeared only in a fugitive form, and others that have never before been indebted to the ministry of the press."

[2] "Having," she herself wrote late in life, "become an enthusiast about our aborigines, the first tune that I was permitted to choose for my own performance was that sweetly plaintive melody of the 'Indian Chief's Death-Song.'" And again, referring to her Traits of the Aborigines of America — the poem of four thousand lines filling pp. 3–131, while the Notes fill pp. 133–284 — she said:

This was composed two years before my marriage, but its publication was delayed for some time, . . . An early acquaintance with the Mohegan tribe of Indians, who resided a few miles from Norwich, and a taste for searching out the historic legends of our forest-people, deepened my interest in their native lineaments of character, and my sympathy for their degraded condition. In the notes of the volume much information is concentrated respecting them, derived from various sources, in the revision of which I gratefully received the aid of the acute and discriminating mind of my husband (Letters of Life, 1866, pp. 53, 327).

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and dry grass in the fall of the year. In connection with this practice, I desire to cite a sentence from Parkman, though the term Indian summer is not used. Speaking of the religion and superstitions of the Algonquins, he says: "There was a Summer-Maker and a Winter-Maker; and the Indians tried to keep the latter at bay by throwing firebrands into the air." [1] Is the suggestion worthy of consideration that by the burning of brush and leaves as well as by the throwing of firebrands, the Indians may have sought to move some supernatural being or influence to put off or to mitigate the cold spells of autumn? While the Indians may have had practical objects in view in setting the fires, that would not seem to preclude their also having purposes of a superstitious character.

While the citations of the use of the term Indian summer which I have presented do not seem to solve the question of its origin, a discussion must always be interesting of those periods in the autumn when Nature bestows in large measure conditions so gratifying to sense and sentiment.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this communication, Mr. MATTHEWS said:

In the paper to which Mr. Ware alludes, read before this Society fourteen years ago, the earliest instance of the term Indian summer cited was from the Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny while at Le Bœuf, near the present city of Erie, under date of October 13, 1794. It is now possible to quote an example earlier certainly by seven years, and possibly by sixteen years. In a letter dated "Germanflats, 17 Janvier 1778," Crevecœur gives a "Description d'une Chute de Neige, Dans le Pays de Mohawks, sous le rapport qui interèsse le Cultivateur Américain," in which occurs the following passage:

Les grandes pluies viennent enfin & remplissent les sources, les ruisseaux & les marais, pronostic infaillible; à cette chûte d'eau succède une forte gelée, qui nous amène le vent de nord-ouest; ce froid perçant jette un pont universel sur tous les endroits aquatiques, & prépare le terre à recevoir cette grande masse de neige qui doit bientôt suivre: les chemins auparavant impracticables, deviennent ouverts & faciles. Quelque-

[1] Jesuits in North America (1880), p. lxxv. Though not found in this passage, Parkman elsewhere employs the term Indian summer: see Mr. Matthews's monograph.

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fois après cette pluie, il arrive un intervalle de calm & de chaleur, appelé l'*Eté Sauvage;* ce qui l'indique, c'est le tranquillité de l'atmosphère, & une apparence générale de fumée. — Les approches de l'hiver sont douteuses jusqu'à cette époque; il vient vers la moitié de Novembre, quoique souvent des neiges & des gelées passagères arrivent long-tems auparavant.[1]

"Germanflats" is the present Herkimer, New York. The author was so careless about certain matters that we cannot be sure that his letters were actually written at the dates assigned, but the work from which the passage is cited was published in 1787.[2]

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read the following paper:

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND AND AMERICA

An eminent English writer began an address upon Edmund Burke with these words: "However innocent a man's past life may be of any reference to this subject — the very many good things other men have said about it must seriously interfere with true liberty of treatment." How vastly more must this be true of any attempt to consider the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, for their pathetic and impressive story has been written and sung for nearly three centuries by the most eloquent orators and scholars and poets. I recall it now especially to emphasize certain differences between the Pilgrims and the Puritans and to show the greater breadth and liberality of the former.

The view is by no means a new one and has occasioned much discussion here and in England, but it is, I believe, the solution of the

[1] Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain . . . depuis l'Année 1770 jusqu'en 1786, par M. St. John de Crevecoeur, Traduites de l'Anglois, Paris, 1787, i. 294. The description fills pp. 289–314.

[2] In his Letters of an American Farmer, published in London in 1782, Crevecœur does not mention the Indian summer. My attention was called to the passage in the text by Mr. Franklin B. Sanborn's paper on "St. John de Crèvecœur, the American Farmer (1735–1813)," printed in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xx. 32–83. Mr. Sanborn shows that Crevecœur was often inaccurate, remarking in one place: "But dates were never St. John's forte. He misstated the ages of his children by two years, and dedicated the French edition of his 'Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain' to Lafayette from 'Albany, 17 Mai 1781,' though at that date he was in England" (p. 34 note: cf. pp. 36, 37 note, 45, 52–53, 73–74).

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marked difference in methods of administration, church policy, and general views, between the Massachusetts and the Plymouth colonies. Failure to appreciate this distinction has caused much confusion. By the term Pilgrims I refer only to the men of the Mayflower, and those, mostly their immediate friends or families, who joined them at Plymouth in ships coming over a few years after 1620.

At the outset we must consider who these Pilgrims were, why they went to Holland, and why they left that place of apparent safety for the dangers and doubts of a settlement in America. The coloring and meaning of Pilgrim history is evidenced by the trials and experiences in the beginnings of the movement.

The sources of our knowledge are few, and before all others must be placed Bradford's History, a unique book, the history of the beginning of a great nation by one of the beginners. This remarkable book, admirable in style, deals with facts and persons with candor and judicial impartiality, and at times with a sense of humor. We have, besides, Winslow's Good News from New England, Morton's New England's Memorial; Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, Baylies's and Arber's works; the profound researches of Henry M. Dexter and his son Morton Dexter, of Professor Franklin B. Dexter, and of Charles Deane; and the brilliant historical orations of Webster, Everett, Winthrop, Hoar, and others.

With all these sources of information, our knowledge of the Pilgrims before 1620 is still very limited — the birthplace, residence, and occupation of many are yet unknown — the time, occasion, and manner of the connection of some with the enterprise is largely a matter of conjecture; but the firmly established fact is, that while a few were of gentle birth and education, most of them were plain, practical, hard-working, poor men, so undistinguished in their particular places of origin that they left no traces behind them.

Upon the eve of their migration to America, some seem to have joined from a spirit of restlessness or adventure, and some inspired by the example of those at Leyden; but the body of them were bound together by sturdy and sincere convictions and the cohesive power of a struggle for free thought and independence. Their revolt was the result of a struggle that had been going on for years in England in some form, had given trouble to Henry VIII and Elizabeth and in some degree to their predecessors, and was extremely active in the

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reign of James I, — more especially in the counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire, and to some extent in Devon and Cornwall.

As early as 1580 a radical separatist church had been gathered at Norwich in Nottinghamshire by one Robert Browne, and his people had been known as Brownists. They had excited violent opposition and dislike from their neighbors of the dominant faith. In 1582 Browne published a book called The Life and Manners of True Christians, prefixing a "Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any," and this book intensified the feeling of his opponents, though it seems to have increased his popularity among the lower classes. In 1592 the number of Brownists — undoubtedly including various shades of dissenters — was estimated at twenty thousand.

Browne's church was a very extreme one in its views, but its belief was similar to that of the Reformed churches of the continent, though more pronounced. It discarded absolutely the forms and discipline of the English Church, and also those of the Presbyterian, refused communion with other churches, regarded marriage as a civil contract, rejected written forms of prayer, ordained its own ministers and admitted its own members, and in fact claimed absolute independence of any other religious body. The brethren did not dwell together in unity, but were a dogmatic, quarrelsome lot, not only believing strange and new doctrines, but asserting them in season and out of season. They particularly loved to "prove their doctrine orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks."

Naturally enough the air of England soon became exceeding unwholesome for a man so scandalously iconoclastic as Browne, and he fled about the year 1581 to Middelburg, Holland, where for a few years he exhibited his unchristian graces, and subsequently recanted and accepted a benefice in the English Church, dying in England about 1633, leaving behind a precious legacy of quarrels and disputes.

After Browne's departure from England, one John Smith gathered together a church at Gainsborough, near Scrooby, as unlovely in character as Browne's and with very similar views. He too migrated to Holland, about the year 1606, where we shall find him later. These men were sincere and courageous; but their zeal outran their discretion, and their temper partook of the sulphurous nature of their doctrines.

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Meanwhile, at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, one William Brewster, afterwards the Elder Brewster of the Plymouth Colony, was growing to manhood. Near by, at Austerfield, was the eminent Pilgrim, Governor William Bradford. In close vicinity to these were Richard Clifton, the gentle preacher, and his assistant, John Robinson, the noted Leyden pastor. These men were thoroughly educated and of standing in the community. They were wise counsellors and of considerable executive power, possessing great self-restraint and the mixture of caution and firmness fitting them for leadership in the impending contest. Around them grew up the Scrooby church. Very few of the men of Plymouth can be surely traced to this church, nor is it possible now to say how many of its members were afterwards in Holland. For some years this small congregation maintained its hold at Scrooby, independent in its character — Puritan as far as the Puritans went, but separating entirely from the Church of England and openly hostile, not only to its forms, but to many of its doctrines. History called them Brownists, but they had little in common with a man like Browne, — refused to follow his extreme views and rejected his name. They were endowed with a more tolerant temper and much greater liberality of thought. Their creed was Calvinistic as Browne's had been, and they were quite as independent; but the position they assumed toward members of other churches was more friendly. They made no display of offensive doctrines, and though firmly rooted in separatist principles, they asked nothing but the liberty of worshipping according to the dictates of their own consciences.

Robinson says that he "separated from no particular church, but from the corruption of all churches." [1] Bradford's description of the Scrooby church was this:

> So many therfore of these proffessors as saw ye evill of these things, in thes parts, and whose hearts ye Lord had touched wth heavenly zeale for his trueth, they shooke of this yoake of antichristian bondage, and as ye Lord's free people, joyned them selves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in ye fellowship of ye gospell, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeaours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensewing historie will declare.[2]

[1] See Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 400.

[2] Bradford, History (1856), p. 9.

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This early declaration is in the spirit of much that followed: their theological horizon was not bounded by the present. They looked forward hopefully to what was yet "to be made known" and devoted themselves to the cause of spiritual freedom with a temper boding ill to a relentless theocratic rule. A little later, as they were on the point of leaving England, they described themselves as a "poor people of Lincolnshire, who, being enlightened by the word of God, and urged with the yoke of subscription, had been led to *see further*."

History tells us but little of their doings at Scrooby; we know that persecution increased, that Bradford and others were imprisoned, that every effort was made to suppress this small body of earnest men, that as early as 1592 some of them had sought without success for leave to quit the country, and that in spite of all they kept their faith. No roll of membership has been discovered, and with the exception of those I have named, no leading Pilgrim can positively be connected with Scrooby. Winslow, Standish, Allerton, Hopkins, Warren, Cushman, were certainly not there; probably John Carver, their first Governor, was not among them; but few as they were, they held in their keeping the destiny of a new continent.

England was not yet ready; and the time came when either their belief or their native country must be given up. They resolved to seek asylum in Holland; but to get there was as dangerous as to remain in England. Their historian says that, "though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to goe." [1] But go they would, in spite of the persecution and deceit of man and the rage of hostile elements.

In the fall of 1607 they made arrangements with the captain of a Dutch ship to take them from Boston, not far from Scrooby. After they were on board he treacherously delivered them to the authorities, by whom they were imprisoned, cruelly robbed and abused, and finally sent back to their homes with the exception of seven — among whom was Brewster — who were bound over to the Assizes.

In the spring of 1608 they again attempted to fly in a Dutch ship, from a place between Grimsby and Hull. Again they were betrayed, for the captain, after most of the men and household goods had got on board, was frightened by the appearance of troops or officers of the law, and set sail, leaving the women and children on shore. Bradford quaintly says, "Y^e^ Dutch-man seeing y^t^, swore his countries

[1] Bradford, History, p. 11.

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oath, 'sacremente,' and having ye wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, & away."[1] The ship encountered fearful storms, was driven four hundred miles out of her course to the coast of Norway, but in the end it reached Flushing, after a two weeks' voyage, with its company nearly famished and suffering severely from cold and exposure. Those left behind were treated with great cruelty, but one by one got across to Holland, Brewster and Robinson being the last to leave.

They were not without sympathizing friends in Old Boston, some of whom themselves afterwards migrated to America with the Puritans. From them they received much aid secretly, and even the magistrates became somewhat infected by the new doctrines. The government authorities were finally wearied by the coolness of the inhabitants and by the half-hearted aid rendered by the Boston officials. Bradford adds, with a sly satisfaction, after describing the predicament of the authorities:

> To send them [the Pilgrims] home againe was as difficult, for they aledged, as ye trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmoyled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they [the authorities] were glad to be ridd of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poore soules) indured miserie enough; and thus in ye end neccesitie forste a way for them.[2]

After many vicissitudes and perils we find the Scrooby church transferred in 1608 to Amsterdam. The Dutch authorities, somewhat overawed by the English and Spaniards, and with their patience severely tried by previous immigrations of refugees from England and France of an intractable nature, were not over-anxious to have them; but to their everlasting credit, they gave them protection, or as the magistrates at Leyden said to them, upon application for leave to settle there: "The Court . . . declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances: and, therefore, the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome."[3] This was not an effusive hospi-

[1] Bradford, History, p. 13. [2] P. 15.

[3] Dexter, The England and Holland of the Pilgrims, pp. 467–468.

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tality, but it was kindly, and much better than they had left behind in England. There are times when shelter and protection and freedom of religious worship are of more importance to a people than ostentatious receptions or special favors. The Pilgrims sought from Holland no special recognition and had no reason from their importance or influence to expect it. To the Dutch they could have been nothing but a few obscure and plain emigrants, seeking safety and a right to worship in their own way. In their own estimation they were nothing more than that.

It was a fortunate circumstance for America, and as remarkable as fortunate, that the little state of Holland existed at that time, the only civilized state where advanced thought could get a breathing-spell, prepare itself for the rough encounter with the wild men and wild nature of another continent, and acquire, withal, a little wider scope by contact with a free and progressive people.

At Amsterdam was our old friend Smith, with his Brownist congregation, naturally enough, engaged in a violent quarrel with the other English church, of Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth. A most vigorous theological bombardment was going on and neither party was lacking in plainness of speech nor cordial hatred of the other.

The Clifton and Robinson church kept aloof from these dissensions as far as possible and strove for a year to live in quiet at Amsterdam; but at last, fearful of the effect of the quarrels upon the younger members, they resolved to remove to Leyden, though Clifton, who was growing old and infirm, remained and died at Amsterdam in 1616. At that time the congregation did not exceed one hundred persons. Their departure was accelerated by Smith's church as well as by his opponents, none of the master spirits of either church having any liking for the newcomers, and Smith himself denounced the Scrooby congregation as being "as very a harlot as either her mother the church of England or her grandmother the church of Rome." This feeling seems to have continued, for as late as 1620 Robert Cushman, in a letter to the Leyden Pilgrims from England, says: "As for them of Amsterdam I had thought they would as soone have gone to Rome as with us; for our libertie is to them as ratts bane, and their riggour as bad to us as y• Spanish Inquision."[1]

Leyden was then a city of nearly 100,000 inhabitants and nearly

[1] Bradford, History, pp. 53–54.

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at the height of its prosperity — "a fair & bewtifull city, and of a sweete situation." [1] It contained a renowned university and was a great centre of scholars and students. Its industries were largely silk weaving and manufacturing.

The first consideration for the Pilgrims was how to keep the wolf from the door. They had to get a living in a strange country, "especially seeing that they were not acquainted with trade nor trafique but had been used to a plane countrye life and ye innocente trade of husbandry." They had never been the possessors of over much of this world's goods and had lost a greater part of their property in the struggle to get across to Holland. Some had brought their looms and became weavers; some became merchants, some hatters, some tailors; Bradford became a fustian maker. Brewster taught English and went into the printing business. Robinson preached and taught in the University. All found some useful occupation.

While in Holland, Edward Winslow, then a young man and of superior education and attainments, joined their company, having fallen in with them while travelling on the Continent. Myles Standish, who had come out with the English army as a soldier to assist the Dutch, joined also. It does not appear that he was ever in full sympathy with their religious views, and he never became a member of their church, though the modern claim that he was a Roman Catholic utterly lacks proof and is in the highest degree improbable. Dr. Fuller, the surgeon in Plymouth, joined. Carver was there, and Cushman part of the time; also Isaac Allerton, Degory Priest (a curious name for that company), and William and Priscilla Mullins. Other well-known names in the Mayflower were not in Leyden, such as Christopher Martin, John Alden, Richard Warren, John Allerton, and Stephen Hopkins. Though the Leyden records of marriages and of citizenship show a large number of Pilgrim names, there is no complete list, and it is not probable that more than two-thirds of the Mayflower company were in Holland at all.

Robinson's congregation numbered at one time about three hundred communicants. They held their meetings, at first, near St. Peter's Church, in the centre of Leyden, and afterwards in the house and grounds of Robinson near by, William Jepson, one of their number, having erected there twenty-one cabins for their shelter.

[1] Bradford, History, p. 17.

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After Robinson's death, Jepson, in 1629, bought out the other's interest. Historians for a long time maintained that the Dutch government assigned to them a church building; but it is now established that this claim is a mistaken one, growing out of an assignment of such building to another party of dissenters.

Robinson, who was a graduate of Cambridge and an accomplished theologian, was eminent at Leyden as a scholar and writer. He was selected to conduct the debate upon the Calvinistic side in a famous discussion at the University between the Calvinists and Arminians. In the view of his friends, at least, his arguments completely demolished those of his opponents. It is remarkable, as showing how fair-minded a man he was, that when this contest was at its height Robinson was in the habit of attending Arminian churches that he might make himself familiar with their doctrines and preaching; and for this he was subjected to some criticism. A parallel will be found later in Plymouth, where members of the Pilgrim church attended Quaker meetings, by permission, until it was found that they were being affected by the Quaker doctrines. Probably Robinson's views were insensibly modified by this habit of hearing Arminians, for he admitted himself that he became more tolerant and liberal during his stay in Holland. He received at communion members of other churches, even of the English Church, and used all his endeavors to create a kind feeling among the different sects.

Though living quietly at Leyden, making no display and seeking no controversy, members of the church were somewhat perniciously active in writing and publishing. Much complaint was made in England of the pest of heretical books working over there from the Brownists in Holland. Brewster, in 1619, made himself especially obnoxious to the English by his writings, and they demanded his arrest. It is said that he fled to London, where, later, he was active in fitting out the Mayflower. There was, however, little danger of his surrender by the Dutch, for their well-known obstinacy of character asserted itself strongly upon any point affecting their rights as a sovereign state. The Dutch officer charged with his arrest got very drunk and seized the wrong man, one Thomas Brewer, an agent of Brewster's in the printing business, and it was more than suspected that this was not wholly the officer's fault, but the result of a collusion with higher powers.

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The amicable relations between the Dutch and the Pilgrims were very marked. The magistrates of Leyden, in 1619, having occasion to reprehend some French dissenters, said: "These English have lived amongst us for ten years, yet we have never had any suit or accusation against any of them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual."

The influence of Leyden, in its mode of thought, in its form of government, and in the peculiar characteristics of the city, had so much bearing upon the after course of the Pilgrims, that it is not out of place to pause a moment and look at the Leyden of to-day, containing as it does so much that existed in Pilgrim days. Nothing can recall the Pilgrims more vividly than this bit of antiquity, so wonderfully preserved for our inspection. The same churches and houses are yet there, moss-grown monuments; the same Stadt House, where the Pilgrims registered as citizens, with the old records and the old benches and chairs and tables. The worthy burgomasters of to-day go in and out with the same phlegmatic stolidity, little changed from those of the seventeenth century, though less picturesque in attire, and the Dutch matrons, as massive as the buildings, neat, healthy-looking, and good-natured, can hardly be distinguished from their ancestors of 1620. There is the University too, not the same building, but the veritable college where Robinson and Episcopius debated. One can walk up the Breesbraat, the main street on the banks of the Rapenburg Canal, over the bridge once pressed by Pilgrim feet, through the narrow side streets to the St. Peter's Kirk, and there stand by the grave of the preacher of liberal thought, John Robinson — the wise, cautious, shrewd counsellor of the Pilgrims. The white kirk walls, bare and severely plain, the old pulpit and the high pews, suggest the rugged faith and the homely ways of that little band. Midst the knights and soldiers, the scholars and martyrs buried there, with sculptured tombs and busts and elaborate epitaphs, nothing appeals to an American with more force than the simple grave, with plain flagstone, designated as that of "John Robinson, English preacher." Five hundred and thirteen years the building had stood midst the storms of war and pillage when Robinson was laid to rest, in 1625. Nearly three centuries have passed since, and the grave of this obscure man has become a shrine visited by countless travellers.

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Robinson's house was close by the church, and has been replaced by a more modern structure; but the spot is pointed out, and on the walls of the present edifice is a slab erected through the efforts of Dr. Dexter and others, with this inscription: "On this spot lived, taught and died John Robinson, 1611–1625." From thence can be seen the canal through whose winding course the Pilgrims took their way to embark at Delft Haven, the scenery practically unchanged and undisturbed. The Leyden of to-day is not the bustling city of 1620; but not even in this country is there a spot around which cluster more vivid associations of Pilgrim days.

In 1619 the older members of the church became restless and doubtful as to a longer stay in Holland. Many reasons led them to desire a change. Some were getting old and feeble, and it was hard to earn a living in this strange land. Their children were learning the Dutch language, enlisting in the army, acquiring Dutch habits, and forgetting England. The Sabbath was not observed in Holland as they wished. A Spanish war threatened, when Holland might no longer be safe for them. They could not forget that they were Englishmen, and in spite of all they had suffered, they loved their native land and desired to worship under its protecting flag. They looked forward to founding a state in the new world, where the kingdom of God should be extended by Englishmen. These are, in substance, the reasons given by Bradford and Winslow, and it undoubtedly was to preserve the integrity of their church and protect the morals of their children that they ventured to migrate.

We find the reasons for the migration restated in the Plymouth Laws of 1671, as follows:

> That whereas the great and known end of the first comers, in the year of our Lord, 1620. leaving their dear Native Country, and all that was dear to them there; transporting themselves over the vast Ocean into this remote waste Wilderness, and therein willingly conflicting with Dangers, Losses, Hardships and Distresses sore and not a few; WAS, that without offence, they under the protection of ther Native Prince, together with the enlargements of his Majesties Dominions, might with the liberty of a good Conscience, enjoy the pure Scriptural Worship of God, without the mixture of Humane Inventions and Impositions: And that their Children after them might walk in the Holy wayes of the Lord.[1]

[1] Book of the General Laws (1672), p. 2.

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Having resolved to settle in America, a tedious correspondence was opened with King James's ministers to procure a patent from the Crown. Their religious views were toned down in the representation, as far as they honestly could be: but the bigoted king refused assent, tacitly or otherwise, to any toleration of their views or any guarantee of freedom in religion. Finally hard terms for the venture were made with the Merchant Adventurers' Company of Plymouth, and they determined to go under the Virginia Patent, which was supposed to extend as far as the Dutch settlements of New York, taking the risk of government interference with their religious freedom in the new country. The patent under which they sailed was from the Northern Virginia Company to John Peirce, February 12, 1620. The Virginia Company having acquired further powers, it appears that this patent was cancelled, and a new one issued, June 1, 1621 (which is now on file in Plymouth); and this one apparently is that under which the settlement was made. In 1629 a further grant was made establishing the limits of the Old Colony.

The arrangements completed, a large part of the Leyden congregation departed from Delft Haven, July, 1620, in the Speedwell, for England. This departure was a notable event, not only in itself, but in the spirit in which it was made. Bradford's mention of it deserves a place upon any memorial to the Pilgrims at Delft Haven or elsewhere:

> So they lefte y^t^ goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. . . . The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was ye sight of that sad and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst every harte; that sundry of ye Dutch strangers y^t^ stood on ye key as spectators, could not refraine from tears.[1]

But more remarkable than this was the famous sermon of John Robinson, preached at Leyden a few days before their departure, from the text, "and there at the river, by Ahava I proclaimed a Fast that we might humble ourselves before our God and seek a right way

[1] Bradford, History, pp. 59–60.

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for us and for our children and for all our substance." This sermon has been widely quoted, breathes a liberal spirit, is full of good advice, broad and admirably adapted to impress upon the departing Pilgrims the wisdom of charity in religious matters, and of holding themselves in readiness to accept whatever new light might be thrown upon the Bible and upon theological doctrines by the spirit of free inquiry. A liberal preacher of to-day, sending forth his congregation to pastures new, could hardly use more precious words than were there found, and the most advanced theology of our time is not as far ahead of the thought of the day as these utterances were of the usual stern theology of 1620. And that it was heeded is evident by the later history of the Plymouth settlement.

One other bit of advice from Robinson, and we follow the Pilgrims to Plymouth. In July, 1620, he says in a letter to them: "Whereas you are become a body politik, using amongst your selves civill governmente, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above ye rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdome & godlines appeare, not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote ye comone good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour & obedience in their lawfull administrations." [1]

The Speedwell and the Mayflower sailed for America. The Speedwell leaked, and both put back; the Speedwell and a part of the company were left behind, and the remainder started in the Mayflower upon their solitary voyage. Sickness, storm, and suffering accompanied them, and even after reaching Massachusetts Bay one of their number by carelessness nearly blew up the barque with gunpowder. At last they miraculously landed their band of one hundred and one passengers at Plymouth. On the Mayflower they adopted the famous compact,[2] chose John Carver Governor, and the church to all intents and purposes then became a Pilgrim republic.

The Leyden church remained under Robinson's charge until his death in 1625, when he was succeeded in the pastorate by John Lathrop, who himself removed to Scituate in a few years. The Leyden church then became practically extinct, but in Plymouth continued nominally under Robinson's charge, in expectation of his coming

[1] Bradford, History, pp. 66–67.
[2] Bradford, History, pp. 59–60.

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over. Elder Brewster chiefly attended to its ministrations, though not as pastor. After Robinson's death, John Lyford was sent out by the Merchant Adventurers, but proved wholly unacceptable, and no pastor was settled until 1629, when Ralph Smith filled the place for a short time. He was followed by Roger Williams and John Raynor, and in 1669 by John Cotton. Under Cotton's ministration we find, in 1676, the church records contain the following entry:

> After prayer for God's direction and blessing in so solemn a matter, a church covenant was read and the church voted that it should be left upon record as that which they did own to be the substance of that covenant which their Fathers entered into at the first gathering of the church, which was in the words following: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinances, we being, by the most wise and good Providence of God, brought together in this place, and desirous to unite ourselves into a congregation or church under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, that it may be in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, we do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy presence) avouch the Lord Jehovah, the only true God, to be our God, and do promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love to aid watchfulness over one another, depending wholly and only upon the Lord our God to enable us by his grace hereunto."

There was probably a declaration of faith by communicants more doctrinal than this; but, if so, it applied to a more limited body. In 1800 a majority of the church and congregation united in settling as pastor the Rev. James Kendall, a Unitarian; and the first church of Plymouth, though remaining Unitarian, yet retains the same covenant without alteration. Whether this argues for the liberality of the Fathers or that of the children we need not determine.

I have occupied myself thus far mainly with the story of the Pilgrims before reaching Plymouth, because it is a part of their history less known and studied, and because it was the key to their spirit and methods in Plymouth. I have also endeavored to let the Pilgrims tell their own tale in their own simple way, that the gradual effect of their trials and sufferings might appear in their own words and show how far their contact with this sturdy, independent people of Holland moulded their thoughts, and in some degree their later institu-

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tions. There were many things in their new colony which were not of English origin, and it is difficult to explain a sort of tolerant intolerance of thought they often displayed, mingled with some inconsistencies of action, except upon the theory that their narrow creed was broadened in its application to actual life by the catholic spirit they had witnessed and experienced in Holland.

The most marked features of their policy after reaching Plymouth were a kindly application of rigid doctrines and a practical common sense in dealing with perplexing problems. If there was harshness, much of it was the result of the weakness of the settlement and a constant fear of disaster to their unstable government. We turn now to a brief consideration of the Pilgrim methods of administration.

No better proof of the liberal tone of the Pilgrims, and the effect of Robinson's teaching, could be asked than is furnished by the constant criticism of their views by the rigid authorities of the sister colony of Massachusetts. The contemptuous manner in which they were spoken of as "those Separatists of Plymouth" shows the bad doctrinal odor in which they stood with their Puritan neighbors. In England, among those who should have been their friends it was worse; and constant charges were made of their neglect of religious instruction and of their latitudinarianism, in order to bring them into disrepute with the government and the adventurers who had assisted in the original enterprise. Their reply to these slanderers was vigorous, without yielding the least in its breadth of view. "It is too great arrogancie," they said, "for any man, or church to thinke y^t he or they have so sounded ye word of God to ye bottome, as precislie to sett downe ye churches discipline, without error in substance or circumstance, as y^t no other without blame may digress or differ in anything from ye same. And it is not difficulte to shew, y^t the reformed churches differ in many circumstances amongest them selves." [1]

Their position receives as practical an illustration as can be found in the statement of their relations with Roger Williams. While it throws much light upon their own spirit, it casts a curious side light upon Williams himself, in view of the large claims history has made on his behalf. Williams was for some years pastor in Plymouth, but

[1] Bradford, History, p. 198.

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left that place and returned to Salem on account of differences with the Plymouth people. Bradford, while testifying to his sterling traits of character, described him as "a man Godly and zealous, having many precious parts but very unsettled in judgment." John Quincy Adams's later characterization of him as a "conscientiously contentious Christian" seems to have been substantially correct. While claiming to be tolerant of all beliefs, his appears to have been a verbal toleration only, for he bitterly inveighed against those who would not openly express their regret for past communion with the English Church. He refused to concur in or permit any present communion with other churches differing upon cardinal points, or with those whom he deemed unregenerate; and in civil matters he was bitterly hostile to the acknowledgment of fealty due to any sovereign. Upon the religious points the Pilgrims held broader principles, and in political matters, in view of the exceedingly delicate nature of their relations with the home government, and the alarming danger of armed interference with their peace and safety, it was natural that both Plymouth and Massachusetts should consider him a dangerous teacher.

He certainly created the impression in Plymouth of being a narrow-minded extremist, adding to many infirmities of temper a practical illiberality destructive to harmony among the churches and to their theory of governmental obligations. Of his own accord he left Plymouth, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; and after his banishment from Massachusetts, which was by no means owing entirely to religious differences, the Plymouth people exhibited toward him a most Christian spirit. Though urged by their imperious neighbors of Boston to take similar action as themselves, they were content with a friendly letter requesting him, in order to avoid trouble between the colonies, to settle outside of their bounds. Acting upon this, in a pleasant way, Williams removed to Providence, and continued for the rest of his life upon the most amicable terms with Plymouth. When a claim was made, after his removal to Rhode Island, that Providence was within the Plymouth bounds, Bradford and his council assured Williams that if it should be found to be so the liberty of conscience in his community should be subjected to no interference. Williams continued in Providence a somewhat inconsistent course, liberal in some things and extremely narrow in others;

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but the harmony with Plymouth remained undisturbed. When he sought "public religious discussion with their people," Governor Prence, in declining, wrote: "But if you judge it advantageous to your Colony's interest, and what you account the only way of worship among you, who can hinder you to maintain the discussion of these propositions in any of our towns, and at what time you please?"[1]

This is not a solitary instance of their tolerant spirit. It can be found in their relations with the new churches growing up in the various towns, with Massachusetts — which at times treated them with a good deal of arrogance — and with individual members of the colony. Controversies they had, at various times. Individuals were excluded from the colony, but in no case does it appear that this was done for religious opinions, unless complicated by breach of the peace or what they considered dangerous political doctrines and acts.

Nor is the Quaker controversy any real exception to this, — that was not in fact a Pilgrim matter, for no Quaker appeared in the colonies until 1656 or 1657, when most of the more distinguished Pilgrims were in their graves. Though we deplore the necessary harshness of the laws against Quakers, the action of Plymouth was mildness itself compared to Massachusetts. For only four years, until 1661, does there appear to have been any excitement about the matter; and during that time, while Quakers were punished and in a few instances banished, there were no executions, and efforts were constantly made in their behalf by prominent members of the colony. Indeed, for a while members were allowed to attend the Quaker meetings to learn their views and to influence them in the right course; but the practice was stopped on account of the conversion of those attending. In 1665 Quakers banished from Massachusetts were allowed to settle and live within the Plymouth bounds, without molestation, so long as they committed no breach of public order. Good government and preservation of peace had more to do with the action as to the Quakers than any question of doctrine, for the Quakers of those days in the New England colonies were indiscreet and troublesome fanatics, defying all prejudices and principles dear to the colony heart.

If in the matter of belief the Pilgrims were lenient for the times, the same spirit appears in their proceedings relating to civil admin-

[1] Goodwin, Pilgrim Republic, p. 368.

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istration. A strict theocracy never existed in the Plymouth colony. The original compact, framed upon the Mayflower, was signed by all the adult males — forty-one in number — and made no distinction between those who were members of the church and those who were not.

In constituting the whole body free citizens with equal powers, Plymouth first established the system of universal suffrage. The body so constituted made all laws for the colony until, in 1636, that power was also conferred upon the Governor and assistants; and as the colony increased in numbers, it admitted to citizenship such newcomers as it saw fit, the powers of the church being confined to the administering punishment by censure. It is commonly stated that the right of citizenship was confined to members of the church; but that can hardly be true in a strict sense, and was covered rather by the vague term of those "orthodox in the fundamentals of religion." The elasticity of this term must have been great, as is shown by the legislation already referred to as to doctrinal belief, by the large number of voters existing at different periods compared to the actual population, and by the known cases of individuals who were freemen but openly out of sympathy with the church. It is important in this connection to note that the oaths required by law of freemen and office-holders contained no reference to church membership and only acknowledged allegiance to the government and the laws.

The very statutes against the Quakers show that citizenship could not have been confined to church members, for otherwise such statutes as those of 1658 would have been meaningless:

It is enacted . . . That noe Quaker Rantor or any such corupt person shalbee admited to bee a freeman of this Corporation. . . . that all such as are opposers of the good and whosome lawes of this Collonie or manifest opposers of the true worship of God or such as refuse to doe the Countrey seruice being called thervnto shall not bee admitted freemen of this Corporation. . . . that if any pson or psons that are or shalbee freemen of this Corporation that are Quakers or such as are manifest Incurragers of them and soe Judged by the Court or such as shall contemptuously speake of the Court or of the lawes therof and such as are Judged by the Court grosly scandalouse as lyers drunkards Swearers &c shall lose theire freedome of this Corporation. . . . that all such as refuse to take the oath of fidelitie as quakers or such as are manifest

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encorragers of them shall haue noe voat in choise of publicke officers in the place wher they dwell or shalbee imployed in any place of trust while they continew such.[1]

In 1665 the authorities, in replying to the proposition of the Royal Commissioners "That all men of competent estates and ciuell conversation, though of different judgments, may bee admited to bee freemen, and haue libertie to choose and bee chosen officers both ciuell and milletary," wrote: "To the second wee alsoe consent, it haueing bine our constant practice to admitt men of competent estates and ciuell conversation, though of different judgments, yett being otherwise orthodox, to bee freemen, and to haue libertie to chose and bee chosen officers both ciuell and milletary."[2] And in 1686 the General Court recognized the situation by formally discontinuing church membership as a qualification for voting.

Whatever restrictions existed were more for the purpose of keeping out dangerous and insubordinate persons, disturbers of the peace, and such as were known as Quakers or ranters, than for securing special privileges to church members; and, except for the reference to it in the law of 1686, it would be difficult to show any proper foundation for the theory that a limitation existed as a real disqualification. It is worthy of notice, in connection with this matter of citizenship, that in 1652 they adopted the system of voting by proxy, the workings of which would have proved dangerous if any particular stress had been laid upon church membership. Such an opportunity would have offered, to careless or unfriendly members of the church, an easy method of evading such restrictions.

The contract with the Merchant Adventurers created a common stock of goods, and gave them rights to profits and lands as joint partners. This has given rise to the idea that the settlement was a communistic venture, but no such policy was ever contemplated by the Pilgrims. It was a common undertaking, and the terms were so hard that the Pilgrims obtained at first no individual ownership of lands and were obliged to subordinate private interests to the general good. To that end the gain was at first divided, and lots set apart for temporary use, and all profits and increase were to be turned into the general stock, to comply with the agreement. As early as 1623 this in a measure ceased, and each man worked for himself

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 101. [2] iv. 85, 86.

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alone, land being assigned for a term of years. How far this common ownership applied to individual property is not clear, but apparently it related only to what was originally constituted common stock. Bradford, referring to the change of system in 1623, speaks thus of their previous experience, which he would hardly have done had they been working out a communistic theory: "The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundries years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times; — that y• taking away of propertie, and bringing in comunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser then God." [1]

In 1627, through the efforts of Standish and Isaac Allerton, the contract with the Merchants was terminated by the agreement to pay the latter a stipulated sum; and after that the lands were divided in fee. It should not be overlooked that none of these titles were taken from England, but that it was the Pilgrim boast that every foot of land they held was by purchase from the Indian owners by fair contract. Their Indian policy was humane and honorable, promotive of kind feeling between the races.

In 1620 the first treaty was made with Massasoit; and that was scrupulously kept until King Philip's War in 1675. The neighboring Indians visited them, stayed with them, and were visited in turn; and, largely through the remarkable influence of Bradford and Winslow, a most cordial feeling was established. Regulations were adopted, from time to time, as necessity required, to preserve peace with the Indians and maintain public order. Individual Indians and tribes were severely dealt with where bad faith and treachery appeared; but no deviation was made from their general policy of treating them with fairness and honor.

Though no protection or recognition had been extended them by the home government, they pledged their fealty to the king; yet they went about the business of governing themselves in an independent way as if they were a free state. At first they enacted no system of laws, recognizing the laws of England, so far as suitable to their needs, with some features borrowed from Holland, and others were evolved from the teachings of the Bible. In 1623 they formally

[1] Bradford, History, p. 135.

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adopted trial by jury, and subsequently provided that if a jury was impannelled in a civil case, and the parties settled the case, they should pay the cost of the jury.

In 1636 a code of laws was formally acted upon, starting out with this broad statement, substantially a declaration of independence: "That according to the & due priviledge of the subject aforesaid no imposicon law or ordnance be made or imposed vpon vs by ourselves [or others at] present or to come but such as shall be made [or] imposed by consent according to the free liberties [of the] State & Kingdome of Engl. & no otherwise."[1]

The most striking features of the laws of 1636 were the comparative mildness of punishments provided. At a time when innumerable offences were punished in other countries by death, they made but five capital crimes: treason and rebellion, wilful murder, witchcraft, wilful burning of ships and houses, and rape or the crimes against nature. Ten executions took place in the colony, one for the last-named offence, and nine for murder.

In common with most people of those days, they sincerely believed in the reality of witchcraft; but, though they made it a capital crime, no such punishment was ever inflicted. To their credit the sad experience of Salem and Boston was not repeated in Plymouth. Two trials were had, one resulting in acquittal. The general policy was to discourage public complaints and to treat the whole matter as one in which imagination so discolored facts that it were better to insist upon the most stringent proof. The practical sense displayed in the earlier case probably arrested further trouble. A complaint of witchcraft having been made against a married woman, her hardheaded husband turned the tables by suing the complainant for slander and she was convicted and punished. After this the risk of prosecuting was too great to be hastily taken.

The frequent statutes upon the subject of intoxicating liquors show how serious a trouble it was to them from the beginning. Nor did they succeed in better solving the difficult question than we of later days. In 1633 they punished householders for permitting others to get intoxicated upon their premises; in 1636 they prohibited victuallers from entertaining children or servants of neighboring houses; in 1638 they prohibited persons from dieting and haunting ale-houses

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 6.

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in the towns in which they lived; in 1646 they prohibited persons drinking at victualling houses over an hour at a time, or sales to Indians, and provided for licensing; in 1659 they provided for warning persons in the habit of drinking or tippling at any house. In many subsequent laws they fixed the price and measure, and prohibited sales on Sunday or after midnight. In fact, the current of legislature went on parallel lines with our action since. In one respect they went further, requiring the names of such as were found to be common drunkards to be enrolled and recorded and set in public places. This curious definition of drunkenness found a place in their laws: "By drunkennesse is vnderstood a pson that either lisps or faulters in his speech by reason of oūmuch drink, or that staggers in his going or that vomitts by reason of excessiue drinking, or cannot follow his calling."[1] With this continuous legislation it remains unfortunately true that their records are crowded with convictions for violation of those laws; and the history of the times is full of direful forebodings and warnings as to the prevailing sin of drunkenness.

In respect to the celebration of marriage by civil officers, they seem to have borrowed the forms in use in Holland. The early adoption of laws for registration of wills and deeds appears to have come from the same source.

In the earlier years of the settlement public schools were unknown; but there are constant references to family schools and to the employment of private teachers. In 1662 schools were made compulsory upon each municipality; and in 1670 a bounty was offered to any town keeping a free school. Under these provisions a free school was established in Plymouth, claimed to be the first free school in America.[2] This had not been the system of England, and was probably the result of their Holland experiences.

This hasty review of the most important institutions of the Pilgrims has in some measure shown their spirit and methods. The last of the Pilgrim signers of the compact on the Mayflower, John Alden, died in 1687, so that practically their influence extended nearly to the time of union with Massachusetts. Whatever differences appear between them and the other colonists were in the men

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 50.

[2] Goodwin, Pilgrim Republic, p. 496.

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themselves, the result of their experiences and of the influence upon their minds of the free state of Holland. She was their harbor of refuge for the twelve years and moulded them for the great work before them.

Fortunate for the Pilgrims that this experience was theirs; fortunate that they had leaders who in themselves exemplified the moderation, firmness, courage, and foresight needed that the colony might be guided in the way pointed out by Robinson, to be ever ready to see and accept "more light." The lives of four men illustrate the spirit and methods of Plymouth: Brewster, with his earnest faith, simplicity, and scholarship; Bradford, with his practical sense, wisdom, and ability as an administrator; Standish, with his fiery courage, constancy, and honor; and Winslow, with his business skill, his genial character, and his innate faculty for delicate negotiations. If ever the character of men was impressed upon a new state, theirs was upon Plymouth, and chiefly to them is the world indebted for whatever influence was exerted by that colony for the principles of freedom and for the right of men to worship in their own way, without interference by the state.

In reference to Mr. Warren's statement that the First Church in Plymouth is still using the original covenant of the Mayflower Pilgrims, Mr. HENRY H. EDES called attention to the fact that the First Church in Boston, also Unitarian for a century, is still living under the covenant that was signed by Winthrop and the other founders of Boston in August, 1630.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1916

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 January, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and, after slight correction, approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON and Mr. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO of Newton was elected a Resident Member.

On behalf of Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT, the following paper was read:

USE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN PUBLIC AND QUASI-PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

It is the general practice of libraries to permit any serious-minded person to see any printed book, however valuable, which he may wish to consult. Whether he may be allowed to turn over the pages of a Shakespeare folio, or the crumbling leaves of an early colonial newspaper, is a matter within the discretion of some responsible official; but he will in all probability be allowed a reasonable use of the work for which he asks.

The case of manuscripts, however, is not the same as that of printed books, and custom differs widely in the various institutions. Some are generous to a degree, and some are narrow and disposed to put difficult barriers between their manuscripts and archives and scholars who wish to use them. There seems to be a sort of vague

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feeling that a book has gone through the pangs of physical birth and therefore has a certain entitlement to existence and recognition, no matter how good or bad it may be, or how soon after birth it ceases to have the breath of life. Mortal or immortal, it was begotten and born, and is of record. Not so, however, with manuscripts. A certain cryptic essence seems to inhere in them, to the minds at least of some librarians and custodians of literary and historical treasures, if treasures they be. Never having been fathered and mothered by author and printing-press in lawful wedlock such possessions do not seem to have a very real existence, and may be said to dwell in a sort of limbo, as do the souls of unborn children. Whatever may be the cause, manuscript material appears in the minds of its custodians to stand as something apart and not easily available.

Is there any safe and sensible rule which all custodians might wisely follow in deciding when to permit the use of this material? A manuscript is always rare, and in this country generally unique. It is perishable, and somewhat injured by every exposure to air or human touch. The custodian has, I think, come to regard his unprinted collections with unnecessary devotion. All manuscripts are not valuable, though they be old and unique. It is not, I submit, an interesting or vital document which avouches that on July 22, 1662, one John Roby sold to Thomas Pettengill a pig for so many shillings and pence. I should not have the courage to destroy such a document myself, but I could stand by and see it perish without a pang. But if this old voucher happened to state that the pig was bewitched or otherwise under Satanic power, then we have something of interest on which the Kittredges and Matthewses of all time may delightedly feast.

An easily working rule would seem to be to permit no one, without the soundest of reasons, to *ransack* any collection of manuscripts. He should have a definite search in view or should be requested to cite particular letters or portions which he needs to see. But he should not be turned loose like a cow in a pasture. It may be entertaining for the cow, but hard for the pasture, especially when the pasture is held in trust for posterity, as are all such possessions as books and manuscripts.

The late Mellen Chamberlain used to say that he had no objection to permitting the use of his own valuable collection to any one who

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would fairly state just what was wanted, but that he did not propose that anybody should "bag the whole game." I see no good reason for permitting a wholesale use of rich material to students and candidates for ordinary degrees. Much harm has already been done by inflaming the minds of youth with an unholy rage for "original sources." A boy of thirteen once asked me to supply him with inedited matter on the Rye House Plot. No, it is fair to both sides to send the casual and accidental searcher to the best printed material, unless he can name a particular letter or letters. There he has a fair claim, especially in a public institution.

There ought, so it seems to me, after these exceptions are admitted, to be a reasonably generous attitude on the part of custodians toward all discreet and earnest seekers after manuscript material. There is, after all, no particular mystery about manuscripts. Many of them are practically worthless, from any point of view, historical or antiquarian, though I most profoundly hope that no reading committee in my day will ever be called upon to decide what it considers valuable and what worthless. There is enough settlement work going on in our libraries already without attacking manuscripts and archives in a socially helpful spirit. But I would have no mysterious gloom guarding the approach to those treasures, which for the most part remain in manuscript because the world has not needed them in book form badly enough to warrant the risk of printing them.

A spirit of generosity then, with a due seasoning of reserve and caution, will safely care for the problem. The fetich that there is any peculiar merit in a manuscript *in* and *per se* may safely be relegated to the bibliothecal cemetery, where some day I trust will rest the bones of the various mediocre tendencies that somewhat infest the libraries of our day.

I was largely moved to communicate these disjointed remarks by the recent experience of a friend who in the course of preparing a work of great historical value had occasion to ask permission to copy a few letters in the possession of a university which I am happy to say is not in or near Boston. There was no opposition to granting his reasonable request until a member of the faculty, on the committee to decide such matters, objected on the ground that these letters were valuable property of the university, and the request was refused.

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Such narrowness and discourtesy usually get their "come-uppance," and never could have existed unless an absurd and exaggerated appraisement of manuscripts as some sacrosanct and mystic possession had found lodgment in rather small heads.

Over-estimation of the relative worth of manuscripts is after all my text, but my sermon has already been preached.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

A contemporary account of the third celebration at Plymouth of Forefathers' Day on December 23, 1771, stated that "The Old Colony song with a number of others was sung, after which the company withdrew." Exactly what "the Old Colony song" was I had been unable a year ago to ascertain, but suggested that possibly it was "Our Forefather's Song," which I had found in print in 1791, in 1838, and in 1846.[1] At that time my earliest allusion to it was in the Massachusetts Magazine for January, 1791, where we read:

To the EDITORS *of the* MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

The following song is upwards of one hundred and sixty years old. The British are passionately attached to the remains of their ancient poetry. I wish to encourage a similar spirit in America.

Yours, J. F.[2]

New England's annoyances you that would know them,
Pray ponder these verses which briefly doth shew them.

OUR FOREFATHER'S SONG.

Composed about the year 1630.

I.

THE place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good:

. . . . . .

The song consists of six stanzas, each containing eight lines except the sixth, which has four lines only. Then follows this explanation:

* *The above, was taken memoriter, from the lips of an old Lady, at the advanced period of* 92. *There is visibly a break in the sense, commencing at the 5th line of the 5th verse:* We conceive that four lines have been lost; and are also of opinion that the four last lines of the 5th verse, and all

[1] Publications of this Society, xvii. 302 and note.

[2] Could this have been the Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel?

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of the 6th belong together. Perhaps some *poetical antiquarian* may favour us with a correcter edition.[1]

The song was next printed, so far as I have noted, in 1838 in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, where it is introduced by the following statement:

OUR FOREFATHER'S SONG.

[Composed about the year 1630, author unknown; *taken memoriter, in* 1785, *from the lips of an old Lady, at the advanced period of* 96. *There is visibly a break in the sense, commencing at the 5th line of the 5th verse:* and, through the failure of memory, four lines have been lost at the latter part of the 5th stanza.][2]

The song is then reprinted exactly as it appeared in the Massachusetts Magazine, except that the fifth stanza consists of four lines and the sixth of eight lines. It was again printed in 1846, when, "In order to adapt it to music, a very few verbal alterations have been made, without, however, impairing its sense or force. . . . It was published originally in stanzas of eight lines, which have been separated into those of four lines, for the greater convenience of singing." It appears under the following caption:

OUR FOREFATHERS' SONG.

THE HARDSHIPS AND FARE OF THE FIRST PLANTERS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Repeated by an old lady, aged 94 years, in 1767.

In the same volume is printed a letter written by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse to Ephraim Spooner. This, dated Cambridge, December 15, 1817, reads as follows:

I here send you a curiosity, which I hope and believe will gratify your friends and townsmen at their approaching Anniversary of the landing of our Forefathers. It is a poetical description of the *hard fare* of our Progenitors soon after they landed on your renowned shore. Who the author was I know not; nor do I *when* it was written; neither have I been informed who the old lady was who repeated these verses in 1767, when 94 years of age. To me it is probable that they were taken down from her mouth, like the ancient poems of Ossian, in Scotland. This paper was given me by the late Madame Bowdoin, the worthy wife of my ex-

[1] Massachusetts Magazine, iii. 52–53.

[2] Third Series, vii. 29–30.

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cellent and intimate friend Gov. Bowdoin.[1] I send them to *you* as a pleasant relic, not merely because I regard you as the Father of the town where you reside, but as a mark of that respectful and steady friendship, so long existing between you and your kinsman.[2]

The old lady, it will be observed, was stated in 1791 to have been ninety-two, in 1838 to have been ninety-six in the year 1785, and by Waterhouse in 1817 to have been ninety-four in the year 1767. It does not appear what Waterhouse's authority was for saying that the old lady repeated the verses in 1767. Recently in glancing through the Massachusetts Spy, I found the song in the issue of February 3, 1774; and, as it is short, as there has been so much uncertainty about it, and as that was perhaps its first appearance in print, it is here reproduced in full:

POETS CORNER.

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY.

Mr. THOMAS.

Please to give the following lines a place in Poets Corner, *and you will oblige one who wishes we had no greater* annoyances *at this day. It is an old ballad composed and sung by some of the first settlers of New-England, called* New-England's annoyances, *recollected and repeated lately, by an old lady of 92 years of age; it may serve to show, not the elegance of the Poet, but some of the* hardships, fare *and* patience *of the first settlers of this country.*

NEW-England's annoyances you that would know them
Pray ponder these verses which briefly do show them;
The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good:
Our mountains and hills and valleys below
Being commonly cover'd with ice and with snow,
And when the north-wester with violence blows
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose;
But if any are so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot or a hand.

[1] James Bowdoin married Elisabeth, daughter of John Erving.

[2] In Airs of the Pilgrims, pp. 1–3, appended to W. S. Russell's Guide to Plymouth (1846).

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When the spring opens we then take the hoe
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow;
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing, some spoil there is made,
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade,
Even when it is grown to full corn in the ear,
It is often destroyed by racoons and deer.

And now our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin;
If we can get a garment to cover without,
Our other in-garments are clout upon clout;
Our cloaths we brought with us are often much torn,
They need to be clouted before they are worn;
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double are warmer than single whole cloathing.

If flesh meat[1] be wanting to fill up our dish,
We have carrets and pumkins and turnips and fish;
And when we have a mind for a delicate dish,
We repair to the *clam-bank* and there we catch fish.
Instead of pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumkins and parsnips are common supplies;
We have pumkin at morning, and pumkin at noon,
If it was not for pumkins we should be *undoon*.

If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be contented, and think it no fault,
For *we* can make liquor to sweeten our lips,
Of pumkins and parsnips and walnut-tree chips.

Now while some are going let others be coming,
For while liquor is boiling it must have a scumming,
But we will not blame them, for birds of a feather,
By seeking their fellows are flocking together.
But you who the LORD intends hither to bring,
Forsake not the honey for fear of the sting,
But bring both a quiet and contented mind
And all needful blessings you surely will find.[2]

[1] In the later versions this is printed "fresh meat."
[2] Massachusetts Spy, February 3, 1774, p. 4/1.

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Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read the following paper, written by Mr. Arthur H. Buffinton of Williams College:

NEW ENGLAND AND THE WESTERN FUR TRADE, 1629–1675

The history of North American expansion might almost be written in terms of the fur trade. Europeans were early attracted to the North American coast by the hope of reaping profits from this trade, and after the beginning of settlement revenue from it was the principal means of sustenance to the early English, French, and Dutch colonies. As European settlement advanced across the continent, everywhere it was preceded by the fur trader, who by the very law of his being operated upon the frontier. Many a nameless trader, intent only upon his trade and caring nothing for the name of discoverer, has been the first white man to set foot upon lands credit for the discovery of which has gone to others. Indeed the fur trader did not care to advertise his discoveries, for the advance of settlement thrust back the Indian, destroyed the forest and the game, and drove the trader ever farther and farther into the continent. Before him was the wilderness; behind him, over paths he himself had made, poured in an ever advancing tide of settlement. Even to-day the Hudson Bay Company's posts in northern Canada are the outposts of civilization on that last remnant of the American fur-trading frontier. Thus the fur trader has blazed the way across the continent.

The fur trade was not only important from an economic point of view; it was also one of the prime factors in colonial politics and diplomacy. First of his race, the trader encountered hitherto unknown Indian tribes, taught them the use of the white man's gun and the white man's liquor, and brought them within the scope of the white man's policy. He became the colonial agent of his government, its diplomatic representative carving out new spheres of influence. On the frontier he met rivals of other white races and engaged with them in a struggle for supremacy the echoes of which could be heard in many a European capital. Considerations based upon the fur trade dictated the Indian and foreign policy of all the fur-trading colonies. The efforts of the northern colonies, especially New York, to control the policy of the Iroquois and to secure access to the western fur

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trade go far toward explaining the century-long struggle with New France. The fur trade was the life-blood of Canada; to divert it to Albany and to transfer the allegiance of the Indian tribes of the west from the French to the English would mean the ruin of that colony. Hence what began as a somewhat petty rivalry between the traders of Albany and Montreal for the western fur trade developed into a struggle for the hinterland and the mastery of the continent.

Importance and Early Development of the New England Fur Trade

New England was no exception to this general American law. From the days of the first Europeans who frequented its coast, furs together with fish formed the principal attraction. Doubtless the early French and Basque fishermen bartered for furs with the New England Indians. Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth all traded with the Indians, and Pring was aware that already the French were drawing immense quantities of furs from the region north of New England.[1] It was the profit to be derived from the fisheries and fur trade which attracted Captain John Smith to the New England coast,[2] and the fur trade was one of the principal sources of revenue to the Plymouth colony.[3] The Massachusetts Bay Company was also interested in the fur trade and in 1629 declared it a monopoly of the Company, voting to devote the proceeds to the erection of forts and churches.[4] Thomas Lechford, writing in 1640, speaks of the fur trade as one of the chief industries of Massachusetts.[5] As in other parts of the country, the fur trader prepared the way for settlement.[6] This was notably true of the first great American westward movement, that to the Connecticut valley. Knowledge of that region was undoubtedly derived from the enterprises of the Plymouth traders upon that

[1] Early English and French Voyages (Original Narratives of Early American History), pp. 337, 347, 350, 371.

[2] Travels and Works of Captain John Smith (edited by A. G. Bradley, 1910), pp. 194–200, 267.

[3] These facts and others concerning the New England fur trade will be found in C. H. McIlwain's Introduction to Wraxall's Abridgment, chap. i. note A. This is the best account of the New England fur trade at present available.

[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 55; Young, Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay (1846), p. 148.

[5] Plain Dealing (1867), pp. 109–111.

[6] F. J. Turner, Publications of this Society, xvii. 254.

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river and from the overland journey of John Oldham in 1633.[1] Springfield was originally settled to secure the trade of that same river.[2] The fur trade was also a fruitful source of rivalry with the Dutch and French. Says Lechford, "Northward from the Bay, or Northeast, lyeth the French plantation, who take up bever there . . . and south of New-England the Dutch take up the bever."[3] The first friction between New England and her neighbors grew out of the trading ventures of Plymouth upon the Kennebec and the Connecticut.

Important as was the fur trade in the early days of settlement, that importance was not enduring, primarily because New England was disadvantageously situated for carrying on the trade. The native supply of furs was not great, and New England was cut off from direct access to the principal sources of supply to the westward. The greatest fur-producing region south of the Hudson Bay country was the region about the Great Lakes. That territory was tapped by the St. Lawrence and Hudson-Mohawk river systems, both in the hands of rival nations whose settlements antedated the first permanent settlement in New England. Moreover, New England was cut off from this trade not only by rivals but also by the facts of her geography. Rivers were the highways of commerce, and the rivers of New England flow north and south, not east and west as the Council for New England seems to have supposed when it granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company its sea-to-sea charter for the region between the Charles and the Merrimac. To overcome this handicap and to secure direct access to the western sources of supply New England traders were led into enterprises which, although known for the most part in their main outlines, have hitherto been treated separately and with little recognition of their significance.

At first this handicap was not perceived and attention was directed to exploiting the resources of New England. The Pilgrim Fathers, coming with quite other objects in view than the fur trade, soon made the trade their mainstay. They were not, however, without competitors. In the region about Massachusetts Bay were several unattached traders, the most successful of whom was Thomas Morton of Merrymount. Morton hints that the breaking up of his settlement was

[1] Winthrop's Journal (1908), i. 103, 108; McIlwain, p. xxxi.
[2] Johnson, Wonder-working Providence (1910), p. 237.
[3] Plain Dealing, p. 108.

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caused less by abhorrence of his scandalous manner of life than by jealousy of his success as a trader. In all probability the real reasons were hostility to his methods of trade, which were considered unfair, and fear of the consequences of his sale of arms to the Indians.[1] The Indian was not only an untutored savage whose ignorance of the real value of things might be traded upon, but a potential foe who must not be exploited to the point of danger.

Not content with such trade as the surrounding country afforded, some of the leading men of Plymouth began to look abroad. In 1625 Winslow and others took a boat-load of corn to the Kennebec and returned with 700 pounds of beaver. From that beginning the Pilgrims developed an extensive trade on the Kennebec and Penobscot which seriously encroached upon the French monopoly of the trade of that region. The success of these enterprises in Maine was due in large part to the use of wampum, which the traders of Plymouth learned from the Dutch. Gratitude for this favor, however, did not prevent them from extending their operations to the Connecticut also and challenging the Dutch control of trade upon that river.[2] These trading ventures of the Plymouth colony mark the beginning of the history of New England's foreign relations and were a prime cause of friction with the neighboring French and Dutch colonies. As always the fur trade proved a source of strife. Collisions resulted, and so convinced did the settlers of New England become of the undesirability of their neighbors that in 1634 or 1635 Edward Winslow, at that time in England as agent for Massachusetts and Plymouth, petitioned the Council for a free commission for "displanting" the French and Dutch.[3]

Rivalry with the French: the Laconia Company, 1629

Meantime an attempt had been made on the part of certain men interested in the colonization of New England to secure control of one of the main arteries of the fur trade. In 1628, England and France being at war, a company was formed to get possession of the St. Law-

[1] New English Canaan (Prince Society, 1883), pp. 282–283, and Introduction, pp. 19 ff.

[2] These facts are well summarized by McIlwain, pp. xxix–xxxi.

[3] This petition appears in one form in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 131–134, and in a somewhat different form in Bradford's History (1908), p. 314. It is calendared in the Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1574–1660, p. 157, where it is dated 1632, obviously a mistake.

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rence, and prominent among its members were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. This Canada Company undertook the conquest of Canada as a private venture under letters of marque from Charles I, and in 1629 sent out a fleet under the command of the Kirkes, which captured Quebec.[1] For a brief period the fur trade of the St. Lawrence was in English hands, but Charles thought more of getting his French queen's dowry than of retaining half a continent, and Canada was restored to France. Thus, as Parkman says, for a sum equal to about $240,000, Charles entailed on England and her colonies a century of bloody wars.[2]

Even before the restoration of Canada Gorges and Mason had taken steps to tap the trade of the interior by a new route. They were less influential in the Canada Company than the Kirkes and Sir William Alexander and could hope only for a share of its profits. Moreover they were joint proprietors, under grant from the Council for New England, of a princely territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, the resources of which they had as yet done little to develop. It would be much more profitable for them if they could discover a practicable route through their New England grant from the coast to the fur-producing region of the interior.

Knowledge of the interior and of the source of the supplies of peltry which found their way down the rivers to the coast was at best hazy, but there had existed, at least from the days of Captain John Smith, a tradition to the effect that most of the furs came from certain great lakes, out of which the New England rivers were supposed to flow.[3] Persuaded of the truth of this tradition and identifying these mythical lakes with Lake Champlain, or the Lake of the Iroquois as it was then called, Gorges and Mason secured on November 17, 1629, eleven days after the return of the Kirkes from the conquest of Canada, a grant of all the region bordering upon the waters "commonly called or known by the Name of the River and Lake or Rivers and Lakes of

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[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, xii. 101–113, 191–203.

[2] The operations of this Canada Company are best described by H. P. Biggar, Early Trading Companies of New France, chapters viii and ix. See also H. Kirke, The First English Conquest of Canada (1908), and Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, chap. xvi. For the interest of Gorges and Mason in this Company, see J. W. Dean's Introduction to Captain John Mason (Prince Society), pp. 53–54.

[3] Works of Captain John Smith, pp. 192, 237.

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the Irroquois," to be known as the Province of Laconia. For the further development of the trade of Laconia the Council for New England granted the patentees a right of way up the rivers supposed to afford access to the region and 1000 acres of land on the seacoast for use as a harbor.[1]

The terms of the grant and the subsequent operations of the Company show plainly that this was an attempt to open a direct trade between the interior and the New England coast, in this case by ascending the Piscataqua river. Unfortunately the facts of New England's geography stood in the way of success. In 1630 the Company sent out Captain Walter Neale as the first governor of Laconia with instructions to find a route to the Lake of the Iroquois. At least one such attempt was made, and Mason urged another, which was projected, but apparently never carried out.[2] A few years later Morton of Merrymount, who since his expulsion from New England had attached himself to Gorges and Mason and other enemies of New England, interested George Cleaves in the possibilities of the Lake Champlain country and persuaded him to take out a commission to search for the lake. Morton also devoted a chapter of his New English Canaan to the attractions of that region;[3] but nothing further was done, so far as we have record, by these English promoters of New England colonial enterprises and their agents. Subsequent attempts to develop a western fur trade had their origin among the actual settlers.

Rivalry with the Dutch: Attempts on the Delaware, 1640–1654

The activities of the Canada and Laconia companies were at the expense of the French; practically all the later attempts of the sort were

[1] The Laconia charter is printed in Captain John Mason, pp. 189 ff. For an account of the Laconia Company, see J. W. Dean's Introduction to this work, pp. 53 ff. Dean relied for his information largely upon a work on the Isles of Shoals by John S. Jenness (1875). See also a note by Charles Deane in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 376–380; and cf. Publications of this Society, xii. 372.

[2] Captain John Mason, pp. 72–74, 331, 335; Gorges, Brief Description of Laconia, in Collections Maine Historical Society, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 67–68; Morton, New English Canaan, p. 237. The best secondary account of the explorations of the Laconia Company is that of Amandus Johnson, Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, i. 392 ff.

[3] Winthrop's Journal, i. 224; Morton, pp. 234 ff. and Introduction, pp. 77–78.

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at the expense of the Dutch. New Netherland lay at the very doors of New England, whose traders had long known about the Dutch trade on the Hudson and coveted it for themselves. Morton estimated the annual value of the Dutch beaver trade at £20,000. "And, therefore," he remarks, "it would be adjudged an irreparable oversight to protract time, and suffer the Dutch, (who are but intruders upon his Majesties most hopefull Country of New England,) to possesse themselves of that so plesant and commodious Country of Erocoise before us."[1] Similarly an anonymous writer declared about 1635 that the Dutch were "a great hindrance to the English Colonies in their trade of Beaver, ffor that one River whereon they are setled yeilds as much (if not more) beaver then all the rest of New England planted by the English, and may be esteemed yearelie about tenn thousand pounds waight of beaver."[2] The appetite of New England for Dutch furs was further whetted by the clandestine trade, which, despite the attempts of the Dutch West India Company to prohibit it, was carried on between New Netherland and New England.[3] A more direct access to the sources of Dutch supply was highly desirable.

The attempt of Plymouth to establish a trade upon the Connecticut has already been mentioned. Plymouth realized that her encroachment upon the Dutch monopoly of the trade of that river might lead to serious trouble and sought the co-operation of Massachusetts. The leaders of the Bay colony alleged various reasons for not participating in the enterprise, but their real reason seems to have been the hope that the fur-producing country which the Connecticut was supposed to tap — that same mythical Great Lake country which formed so important a part of the New England tradition of the geography of the interior — was also accessible from the headwaters of

[1] New English Canaan, pp. 238, 240.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xl. 70. The contributor of this document, Dr. Charles E. Banks, believes that the writer was Walter Neale, first governor of Laconia.

[3] Winthrop speaks of trading with the Dutch for beaver and estimates their total trade at nine or ten thousand skins a year (Journal, i. 131). See also McIlwain, p. xxxii; Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, i. 126. McIlwain errs, however, in citing Weeden (i. 131) to the effect that this illicit trade amounted to from ten to fifteen thousand skins a year. What Weeden does say is that the Dutch, previous to the loss of their Connecticut trade, had drawn that number of skins yearly from New England — quite a different matter.

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the Merrimac. If that were so, Massachusetts could divert the trade to Boston and would not have to share it with Plymouth.[1]

Despite Bradford's naïve protestation that "they did the Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foote of any land they bought, but went to the place above them," the Dutch were highly incensed at this encroachment, and actual bloodshed was narrowly averted. But the question of control of the Connecticut fur trade soon became an academic one for both the Dutch and Plymouth, for the migration of Hooker, Haynes, and their companions changed the lower Connecticut valley from a fur-trading frontier to an agricultural community. If the settlers of Connecticut had cherished the hope of engaging in a profitable fur trade, their hopes also were disappointed, for the establishment of Springfield the same year (1636) cut off the trade from above and gave Pynchon almost a monopoly of the trade of the river.[2] This movement, however, preceded by fur-trading operations, and in the case of Springfield caused by them, must be regarded as the first encroachment of the English upon the Dutch fur trade and the first of a series of clashes with the Dutch which were to end in their expulsion from the North American seaboard. Rivalry over the fur trade must be reckoned as the earliest in time, and one of the most important, of the causes contributing to that end.

The establishment of the colony of New Haven in 1638 marks a further stage in New England rivalry with the Dutch for the fur trade of the interior. Almost from the first the new colony took a more aggressive attitude toward its western neighbors than its sister colonies, partly because it speedily became a commercial rival of the Dutch, partly because of vexing boundary disputes. One of the first causes of friction was the attempt of New Haven merchants to secure access to the fur trade of the interior by the Delaware river route. The trade of that river was at this time shared by the Dutch and Swedes, each too weak to drive out the other, and united only in their determination to exclude the English. It appears to have been

[1] McIlwain, pp. xxx–xxxi; Bradford, pp. 299–302; Winthrop's Journal, i. 103, 109–110.

[2] See an interesting note by Mr. H. A. Wright (Outlook, May 5, 1915, cx. 47) on the size of Pynchon's trade. His success at Springfield was a source of great annoyance to the Dutch, and was one of the grievances against the English which Stuyvesant brought forward at the time of the treaty of Hartford in 1650 (Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 172, 176, 178).

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George Lamberton, a New Haven merchant, who, sailing along the coast on a trading venture to Virginia in the winter of 1638–39, discovered that there was a profitable fur trade on the Delaware.[1] This discovery resulted in the establishment at New Haven of a Delaware Company to exploit the trade of that region. Among the members of the Company were Lamberton, Governor Eaton, the Rev. John Davenport, and other leading men of New Haven. Indeed so closely was the Company identified with the colony that it assumes almost the aspect of a corporate enterprise.

In the spring of 1641 the Company sent Lamberton and Captain Nathaniel Turner to the Delaware to purchase land of the Indians and otherwise prepare the way for settlement, for, if the primary motive of the Company was the fur trade, a strong secondary motive was the desire to secure an outlet for the growing population of the colony. Regardless of the rights of the Dutch and Swedes, two large tracts of land were purchased in southern New Jersey and another tract on the future site of Philadelphia. The colony of New Haven extended its jurisdiction over this territory and lent the Company its full support. A settlement was made the same year at Varkens Kill (Salem, New Jersey), but as it was below the Dutch and Swedish posts and therefore unfavorably situated for the fur trade, a trading post was erected the next year near the mouth of the Schuylkill and above the rival posts.

So seriously did this new post interfere with trade that the Dutch, probably with the aid of the Swedes, destroyed the fort and took away the settlers to Manhattan. The settlement at Varkens Kill was not disturbed, but it amounted to little. Some of the settlers perished of disease, some straggled back to New Haven, and a few stayed on, submitting themselves to Swedish rule.[2] So complete was the failure of this first English attempt to gain possession of the Delaware route to the interior, and so heavily did the losses of the Company bear upon the colony of New Haven, that murmurs were heard against the promoters. Davenport was accused of trying to conceal his share in the

[1] C. H. Levermore, Republic of New Haven, p. 90.

[2] No attempt is here made to describe this episode in full. Amandus Johnson (Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, i. 208–217) gives a detailed account with references to the sources. His account supersedes that of Levermore (Republic of New Haven, pp. 90 ff), which is condensed and uncritical and has minor inaccuracies.

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enterprise, and one Luke Atkinson was fined for saying that "Mr. Davenport's name had bin very pretious, but now it was darkned." The failure of the enterprise and the consequent recognition of the necessity for support from the other New England colonies probably had a good deal of influence in persuading New Haven to join the New England Confederation.[1]

Not only was the fur trade important in the history of American expansion; it was also an influential factor in the various attempts at colonial union. It was no accident that control of the fur trade was one of the subjects discussed at the Albany Congress in 1754. The only thing, down to the time of the outbreak of the struggle with Great Britain, which could induce the several colonies to lay aside their jealousies even temporarily was the occasional necessity for union against their Indian and foreign enemies. To control the fur trade, friendship with the Indian was necessary, but that control and that friendship could only be secured as the result of a successful struggle with foreign rivals. Here again the smaller world of New England was no exception to the rule. Perhaps the leading motive for the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643 was the fear of trouble with the Indians and the neighboring Dutch and French colonies, and the further realization that in the event of such trouble little help could be expected from the mother country, then on the eve of civil war. It is abundantly clear, from the above recital of events, that hostile collision had resulted in the past from rivalry over the fur trade and was likely to do so again. Thus, in a double sense the fur trade was a cause of the formation of the New England Confederation. On the one hand the necessity of a united effort to push the trade in the face of French and Dutch rivalry was recognized; on the other, the dangerous consequences which might ensue if any one colony attempted to push the trade alone.[2]

This becomes increasingly evident when we consider some of the early deliberations of the Confederation. In 1644 the United Commissioners proposed the formation of a joint stock company to carry on the Indian trade.[3] The scheme was approved by Massachusetts and Connecticut, the colonies which at that time had the least interest

[1] Levermore, p. 95.
[2] See McIlwain, p. xxxi.
[3] Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 22–23.

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in the fur trade, but was rejected by Plymouth. No record of any action by New Haven appears upon the pages of the published records of the colony.[1] But although this attempt at joint prosecution of the trade fell through, the Confederation did give its moral support to New Haven in its efforts to secure a foothold upon the Delaware.

The negotiations between the Dutch and Swedes on the one hand and the Confederation on the other may be followed in the Acts of the Commissioners of the Confederation.[2] They are chiefly interesting as showing how this attempt to get a share of the western fur trade brought the Confederation to the verge of war with the Dutch. For a time after 1643 New Haven seems to have been too exhausted by her previous failure to renew the enterprise, and when in 1649 the New Haven Commissioners again brought the matter to the attention of the United Commissioners that body showed its lack of interest by refusing to encourage another attempt at settlement.[3] The necessary encouragement was supplied by the Treaty of Hartford in 1650, which was a sincere attempt, at least on the part of the Dutch, to adjust all matters in dispute between them and the New England colonies. The arbitrators chosen on that occasion were unable to arrive at a definite agreement concerning the rights of the respective parties upon the Delaware, but recommended that both, according to the status quo prius, be free to "Improve theire Just enterests at Delaware for planting or Trading as they shall see Cause; onely . . . that all pseedings there as in other places may bee Carried on in love and peace tell the Right may bee further Considered and Justly Issued either in Europe or heere by the two States of England and Holland."[4]

Despite this agreement, when a ship-load of fifty settlers for the

[1] Weeden, i. 42; Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 86; Connecticut Colonial Records, i. 113; Plymouth Colony Records, ii. 82. J. A. James (English Institutions and the American Indian, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 12th Series, x. 25–26) makes the mistake of supposing that this proposed company went into operation. The references which he cites in proof of his statement refer to the activities of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians.

[2] Plymouth Colony Records, ix and x. Johnson gives an account of the efforts of the English to get a foothold upon the Delaware from 1643 to 1653 with full references to sources (vol. i. chap. xxxvi). Levermore must be relied upon for the rest of the history of the New Haven Delaware Company (pp. 98–99).

[3] Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 140–141.

[4] ix. 189.

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Delaware set out the following spring from New Haven, Stuyvesant protested vigorously and by threats forced them to turn back. Incidentally it appears that this attempt at settlement was due quite as much to a desire on the part of some to escape from narrowing quarters as to a purpose to carry out the original plans of the Company. The petition of the aggrieved would-be settlers speaks of their being "streitened in the Respectiue plantations," and lays stress upon the fact that there was no other opportunity within the limits of New England for expansion, saying that the Delaware was a "place fitt for the enlargment of the English Collonies at present and hopfull for posteritie." [1] The ever expanding population of the English colonies made them less successful in the fur trade than the French and Dutch, who with a smaller and less rapidly increasing population, were not so much troubled by the problem of reconciling the rival interests of the fur trader and the settler.

The patience of New Haven was completely exhausted by this new interference with her plans, and for once the Confederation, though still cautiously, prepared to support her. Eaton wrote to Edward Winslow, who was at this time looking after New England interests in London, and the United Commissioners followed his letter with another, asking him to sound Parliament and the Council of State upon their attitude toward the Delaware question, and to find out "how any engagement by the Collonies against the Duch vpon the formencioned occasion willbee Resented by the Parliament." [2] The question of war against the Dutch was, therefore, being discussed and doubtless New Haven was urging drastic action. The Commissioners were not prepared to go that far, but did agree that if the petitioners, with the approval of New Haven, would send within a year 100 or 150 well-armed men with a good vessel and plenty of ammunition to the Delaware, and if while behaving peaceably they were opposed by the Dutch or Swedes, the Confederation would support them by sending soldiers, provided the Company pay the charges of the expedition. They further sent a letter of protest to Stuyvesant charging him with being "the sole auther and cause of all such inconveniencies and Mischeifes as may follow thereupon." [3] The

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 210–212; Johnson, i. 402.
[2] Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 199.
[3] ix. 213–215.

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Company could not meet these many conditions and no further action was taken at this time.

A year and a half later, in the spring of 1653, all New England was stirred by reports that the Dutch were uniting the Indians in a great conspiracy to attack the English. These reports gave New Haven and Connecticut another opportunity to urge upon the Confederation a declaration of war against the Dutch. The time was further opportune because England and Holland were then at war. The Commissioners of the Confederation met in extraordinary session; all the old questions in dispute with the Dutch were once more discussed; the two western colonies urged war. Prominent in the list of fifteen grievances against the Dutch was the treatment of New Haven traders and settlers on the Delaware. The attitude of Plymouth and Massachusetts toward this particular class of grievances is instructive alike of the weakness of the Confederation and of its unwillingness to push matters to an open rupture with the Dutch. The Plymouth Commissioners protested that five or six of the grievances had to do with events which had occurred before the formation of the Confederation; while the Massachusetts elders, in their statement of the case which did so much to influence that colony to decide against war with the Dutch, gave it as their opinion that many of the grievances alleged by the two western colonies were awaiting diplomatic adjustment and therefore were not clear ground for war. The Delaware question would certainly fall within that category.[1]

How New Haven, blocked in her efforts to drag the Confederation into war with the Dutch, appealed to Cromwell, how Cromwell sent a fleet to capture New Amsterdam, and how the news of peace in Europe put an end to the undertaking, are matters which cannot be considered here. At the 1654 meeting of the Commissioners Eaton again pressed the Delaware business and there was talk of a large migration from New Haven to the Delaware, but the Dutch conquest of New Sweden, the death of Governor Eaton, and other events put a quietus upon the ambitions of New Haven to find an outlet for her surplus population and to break down the Dutch control of the western fur trade by establishing a colony upon the Delaware.[2] Among the causes which brought the Confederation to the verge of war with

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, x. 13, 14, 15, 32–33, 56.

[2] x. 127; Levermore, pp. 98–99.

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the Dutch these ambitions had a foremost, although not a unique, place. But had New England, as New Haven so earnestly desired, made war upon New Netherland, it might truly have been said that no cause of friction was more fundamental than the successful Dutch opposition to the attempts of the English to wrest from them the control of the fur trade of the interior.

The other attempts, which we have to consider, to oust the French and Dutch from their privileged position in the fur trade had their origin in Massachusetts. That colony in its earlier days had not paid great attention to the fur trade. The resources of the immediate hinterland were steadily exploited, but until 1644 Massachusetts did not look abroad. Already she had developed that interest in the fisheries and in commerce which was to determine the whole course of her colonial history. The fur trade, however, was a profitable form of investment which could not help making its appeal to her enterprising merchants, and the activity of the New Haven Delaware Company, together with the proposition of the United Commissioners to establish a joint stock company to carry on that trade, seems to have turned their attention in that direction.

Perhaps even more influential in reviving interest in that trade was the persistence of the tradition of the Great Lake to the westward. The truth of that tradition seemed confirmed when in 1642 Darby Field, an adventurous Irishman, explored the White Mountains and returned with the report that from their summits "he saw some great waters in parts to the westward, which he judged to be the great lake which Canada river comes out of." [1] Two years later Massachusetts established a Delaware Company of her own. "Divers of the merchants of Boston," says Winthrop, "being desirous to discover the great lake, supposing it to lie in the north-west part of our patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver, which came to all the eastern and southern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade which they should discover, to themselves for twenty-one years." [2] Though the General Court was loath to establish a monopoly, it yielded on perceiving that the adventurers would not proceed otherwise, and on March 7, 1644, voted that Valentine Hill, Captain Robert Sedgwick, William

[1] Johnson, i. 394; Winthrop's Journal, ii. 62–63.
[2] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 164.

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Tyng, Francis Norton, Thomas Clarke, Joshua Hewes, and William Aspinwall be "established a free company of adventurers" with power to admit new members and a monopoly for twenty-one years of "whatsoever trade they shall discover in those parts wthin three yeares."[1] These men were among the most prominent in the colony.[2]

That same spring (1644), armed with letters to the Dutch and Swedish governors, the Company sent a pinnace to the Delaware commanded by William Aspinwall, "a good artist," says Winthrop, "and one who had been in those parts."[3] A copy of Winthrop's letter of introduction, written in Latin, has recently been found in the Royal Archives at Stockholm.[4] The purpose of the expedition

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 60.

[2] Of the members of this Company, Tyng was Treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Valentine Hill was a prominent merchant of Boston, a selectman, and at different times a deputy to the General Court (Savage, Genealogical Dictionary; Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 259, 340). A later entry in the Colony Records shows him engaged with Tyng in a trading venture to the Azores, Madeiras, and West Indies (ii. 247–249). Sedgwick was at this time a deputy and later was commander, with Leverett, of the expedition which was intended to attack New Amsterdam, but conquered Acadia instead. A good account of Sedgwick will be found in Publications of this Society, iii. 156–173. Norton was a lieutenant for Charlestown and deputy (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 166, 186). Hewes was also a lieutenant (ii. 163) and a prominent merchant. There is a good account of Hewes and his commercial ventures by Eben Putnam, Lieutenant Joshua Hewes and Some of his Descendants (1913). Pages 66–69 describe this Company of Adventurers and his connection with it, but without adding anything new. For Aspinwall see the next note.

[3] Journal, ii. 164. William Aspinwall came over, probably with Winthrop, in 1630, and was prominent in the colony until the time of his banishment, in 1637, for being a supporter of Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson. With others of his fellow sufferers he joined in establishing a colony in Rhode Island, and became its first Secretary. Here also he got into trouble, "being a suspected person for sedition against the State." The scanty notices we have of him from 1637 to 1642 show him engaged in trading. In the latter year he was restored to his rights and citizenship in Massachusetts, and speedily became Recorder and Notary Public. His connection with the Delaware Company was apparently the result of his trading ventures in 1637–1642. In 1651 he was suspended from his office as Recorder "for chardging the Courte and Jury to goe against lawe and conscience," and the next year he lost his position as Notary Public. We know little about him after 1652 except that he was alive in England in 1662. The above account is taken from that of John T. Hassam printed in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 211–219, Suffolk Deeds, x. 15–24, and Aspinwall Notarial Records (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii). I am indebted to Mr. S. E. Morison for this reference.

[4] Johnson (i. 396) prints a photographic facsimile.

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according to this letter was to explore the western parts of the colony, and the plan was for Aspinwall and his men to sail up the river as far as possible in the pinnace and then continue their explorations in boats or canoes, doubtless with the hope of finding that the Delaware issued from the mythical Great Lake supposed to lie in the western part of the Massachusetts patent. The cost of the expedition was to be met by trading with the Indians.

Neither the Dutch nor the Swedes could afford to let the English cut off their trade by getting above them on the river, but Governor Printz of New Sweden, alarmed by the persistent attempts of the New Englanders to get a foothold upon the river, was anxious to avoid trouble. When Aspinwall's pinnace appeared in the Delaware, she was stopped by a shot from the Swedish fort, but Printz agreed to let her pass on up the river if Aspinwall would promise not to trade with the Indians. Privately, however, he sent word to the Dutch fort above, urging them to refuse the English passage, and before Aspinwall had left the Swedish fort the Dutch factor, acting under orders from Governor Kieft, sent a message to the effect that under no circumstances would the English be permitted to ascend the river. Thus Aspinwall had to return to Boston with neither profit from the fur trade nor an increased knowledge of the western parts of the colony to show for his voyage. Indeed the Swedes had added insult to injury by compelling him, before his departure, to pay forty shillings for the shot which had been fired from the Swedish fort to halt his ship.[1]

The following winter certain merchants of Boston, probably the same Company, sent out a bark with seven men to trade on the Delaware. By spring they had accumulated 500 skins, trading on the Maryland side out of reach of the Dutch or Swedes. But the party was betrayed by their Indian interpreter to some Indians who rifled the bark, killed four men, and made off with the interpreter and a boy. Governor Printz, eager to ingratiate himself with the English, secured the persons of the interpreter and the boy and sent both to Boston, where his kindness was much appreciated.[2] With this incident the attempts of the merchants of the Bay colony to gain access to the western fur trade by the Delaware route ended, although, as

[1] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 181, 190; Johnson, i. 394–397.

[2] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 210, 246; Johnson, i. 398.

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we have seen elsewhere, the New Haven Delaware Company was more persistent.

RIVALRY WITH THE DUTCH: ATTEMPTS ON THE HUDSON, 1645–1675

All attempts to penetrate the interior by the Delaware route having failed, the merchants of Massachusetts turned their attention to the direct overland route westward. The history of these efforts, which continued intermittently down to the time of King Philip's War, begins with the establishment in 1645 of a second free company of adventurers. The members of this Company, Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Richard Dummer, William Hubbard (father of the historian), William Hathorne, and William Paine, were even more distinguished than the members of the Delaware Company, as any one familiar with the early history of Massachusetts will recognize. Representing to the General Court that they had "thoughts of a discovery of the great lakes and other lakes that lye up in the countrye," and of erecting a trading house, these men petitioned to be made a Company of Adventurers, with a monopoly for twenty years of all the trade they might discover within three years, and with the further right to regulate the trade and punish interlopers. They also requested letters of recommendation to the French and others, and "the use of a caravan to be advanced any way up in the country, as far as they shall see meete." They promised to resign their monopoly if the joint stock company proposed by the United Commissioners were formed, and further agreed to erect no trading house within fifty miles of any English plantation. On these conditions, and with the proviso that this Company should not interfere with the Delaware Company, their petition was granted.[1]

We have no record of anything accomplished, or even undertaken by this Company, but fourteen years later, in 1659, two of its members, Hathorne and Paine, joined with Thomas Clarke and Francis Norton of the Delaware Company of 1644, Captain Thomas Savage, William Browne, Captain John Pynchon, George Corwin, John Richards, Thomas Lake, and Walter Price to form a new company to develop the western fur trade. These men were, for the most part, influential merchants of Salem and Boston. Pynchon, as the most prominent

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 138, iii. 53.

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man in western Massachusetts, was fittingly included in the enterprise. In the early proceedings of the Company Hathorne played a leading part, and he must be regarded as the chief promoter of the undertaking. His activity, taken in connection with the interest of William Paine [1] and later of his son John, makes it seem probable that this 1659 Company was only a reorganization of the Company of 1645, or possibly an amalgamation of the interests of the two western companies of 1644–1645.

The establishment of this Company coincided with a renewed interest in the fur trade in Massachusetts. In 1657 the General Court declared that "the trade of furrs wth the Indians in this jurisdiccon doth properly belong to the comonwealth," and appointed a committee to regulate the trade.[2] The report of this committee, made in October, 1658, is of great value for the light it throws upon the condition of the fur trade in Massachusetts at that time. The committee farmed out the trade of the different localities where it was carried on to certain men or groups of men for sums varying from £2 to £25. The most valuable trade at this time was that of the Merrimac, for which certain men paid £25. Pynchon farmed the Springfield trade for £20.[3] The other five places where there was an appreciable trade were Concord, Sudbury, Nashaway (Lancaster) and

[1] William Paine was one of the wealthiest men in the colony. He came over in 1635 and settled at Watertown, but removed in 1639 to Ipswich. He owned a five-sixths interest in the fulling and grist mill at Watertown and a three-fourths interest in both the Lynn and the Braintree Iron Works. He and Thomas Clarke, a member of this Company, were interested with the younger Winthrop in the New Haven Iron Works and the black lead mines at Sturbridge. Some of his letters to Winthrop, which throw light upon their business relations, are printed in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. Paine was also a landowner on a large scale and at the time of his death was part owner of five vessels and had investments in ventures in England and Jamaica. The extent of his interests discloses the many-sided activities of what we may fairly term the capitalist class in Massachusetts at this time. The fur trade was only one of the forms of investment, perhaps the most speculative form, open to enterprising men of Paine's generation. For an account of Paine and his undertakings, see Albert W. Paine, Paine Genealogy, Ipswich Branch (Bangor, Maine, 1881), pp. 57–73. Mr. S. E. Morison first called my attention to this Genealogy.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. 291.

[3] Johnson states in his Wonder-working Providence (p. 237) that at the time he was writing, about 1651, the competition at Springfield had become so keen that there was little profit in the trade, and many of the settlers had turned to agriculture.

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Groton, Whipsufferadge (Marlborough), and Cambridge. At this same session the Court agreed to respect Temple's monopoly of the fur trade of Nova Scotia and Acadia.[1]

The real object of the Company of 1659 was concealed under the form of a grant to it by the General Court of a plantation ten miles square to be located 40 or 50 miles west of Springfield and about two-thirds of the way to "Fort Awrania."[2] This was in May. In August Hathorne and Pynchon appeared at Fort Orange to make a friendly arrangement with the Dutch, stating that it was their purpose to make a settlement about fifty miles east of the Hudson, providing that region did not lie within Dutch jurisdiction, and expressing a desire to supply Fort Orange with cattle. The local court had no power to act and referred them to Director-General Stuyvesant and the Council at New Amsterdam. Whether Hathorne and Pynchon went to Stuyvesant we do not know; probably they did not, for we hear nothing about any negotiations with him. Stuyvesant, however, heard of their proposal and was greatly alarmed, suspecting, as he said, that this was only another attempt on the part of the New Englanders "to get into our beaver-trade with their wampum and divert the trade." Such was also the opinion of the West India Company, which instructed Stuyvesant by all means to prevent the English settlement lest their experience on the Connecticut be repeated on the Hudson.[3]

Having failed to secure their object by friendly negotiation and having succeeded only in arousing the opposition of the Dutch, the Company was forced into the open, and not only brought the matter to the attention of the Confederation but also appealed to the General Court for enlarged powers and official backing. The letter sent to Stuyvesant on behalf of the Company by the United Commissioners was still vague as to the purposes of the Company. It recited that the Massachusetts patent extended to the South or West Sea, that that colony had made a grant of certain lands near Fort Orange, and that it now desired free passage up the Hudson to the proposed settlement. It said furthermore that the Treaty of Hartford did not preju-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. 354, 355.

[2] Ibid. p. 374. The secondary writers who treat this episode are Brodhead, History of New York, i. 655, 671–674; O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, ii. 402–406; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts (1795), i. 150 note.

[3] New York Colonial Documents, xiii. 101, 107, 126, 129, 150.

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dice the claims of Massachusetts, because that treaty had only settled the boundary between the Dutch and New Haven and Connecticut. Stuyvesant replied cautiously to what he rightly termed a "dark request," but did make clear that he considered the lands in question to lie within the territory of New Netherland, and that he believed the Treaty of Hartford to have settled the boundary question as far as all New England was concerned.[1]

Meantime the General Court of Massachusetts had voted "that a present claime be made of our just rights upon Hudsons River," and commissioned Hathorne and John Richards to be the bearers of a letter to Stuyvesant, written in the name of both the General Court and the Company, asking free passage up the Hudson. At the same time the Court granted the Company a monopoly of the trade within fifteen miles of that river for twelve years and liberty to trade in commodities such as the Dutch usually sold.[2] The real object of the Company, so carefully concealed hitherto, though shrewdly suspected by the Dutch, at last was openly avowed, — it was to share in the western fur trade and break the Dutch monopoly. The hard-headed merchants of Boston and Salem had no intention of establishing a settlement in an inaccessible spot half way between Springfield and Albany just to furnish Fort Orange with cattle.

The letter sent by the General Court offers a full explanation of the reasons why Massachusetts was led thus to assert her rights upon the Hudson. First among them is that "being now increased and wanting convenient places to settle our people, wee conceiue no reason can be imagined why we should not improue and make use of our just rights in all the lands granted us, especially those upon Hudsons riuer not being actually possessed by your nation, which is the onely thing that at present we intend." With some reluctance it is admitted that the establishment of settlement on the Hudson might damage "the trade & profitt" of the Dutch, but the insulting suggestion is made, in the worst vein of Puritan religious casuistry, that for the Dutch to object on that score would be "so unbecōming the professours of Christianity that those that doe but pretend to cōmon justice & honesty could never alleadge it seriously without blushing."[3]

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, x. 220, 443.
[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. 395.
[3] Plymouth Colony Records, x. 445–446.

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Thus in mid-seventeenth-century Massachusetts the desire for new lands for an expanding population, the quest for a more lucrative fur trade, and possibly an element of land speculation, were all forces operating to bring about a westward movement. It will be recalled that prominent among the reasons for the great migration to Connecticut was that "all towns in the bay began to be much straitened by their own nearness to one another, and their cattle being so much increased." [1] Among the forces giving an impetus to English expansion in America, land has undoubtedly played a more prominent part than the fur trade. In French Canada the contrary was true. In this particular case it seems probable that Massachusetts, like the representatives of the Company, was guilty of a subterfuge, and that desire to share in the Dutch fur trade rather than to make good her claims to territory on the Hudson or to establish a settlement so distant from the centre of population and authority around Massachusetts Bay, was the real reason for this enterprise.

It is interesting to speculate as to what might have been the result had not the Restoration in England suddenly placed Massachusetts in so critical a position that it was no longer possible to push an undertaking which would mean serious trouble with the Dutch. In the opinion of some there was serious danger of war in 1660. Stuyvesant's reply to the letter of the General Court was a flat refusal to permit passage up the Hudson to the contemplated settlement.[2] He could not decide otherwise. According to the report of John Davenport, who talked with Hathorne and Richards at New Haven on their way home from New Amsterdam, the Dutch traders threatened to cut off Stuyvesant's head if he granted the request.[3] "I perceive," adds Davenport, "if that buisines proceedes, as Major Hawtherne thincks it will, all the Colonies are likely to be ingaged in a warr with the Dutch." If the Restoration had not occurred at this time it is quite possible that the New England colonies, by their own unaided efforts, might have anticipated the conquest of 1664. In the crisis of 1653–1654 it had been the opposition of Massachusetts which frustrated the vehement desire of New Haven and Connecticut to rid themselves of Dutch rivalry. Now, with Massachusetts in sympathy with the

[1] Winthrop's Journal, i. 151.
[2] New York Colonial Documents, xiv. 465.
[3] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 512.

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other colonies, a united New England might have succeeded, and the whole history of New York and New England have been changed. The imagination kindles at the thought of the possible effect of a union of New York and New England upon the struggle with New France. With those two acting in harmony it may well be that the English colonies would have been spared the bloody "half century of conflict."

Although Massachusetts could not, after the Restoration, press the matter against the determined opposition of the Dutch, the Company of 1659 did not, like the earlier Massachusetts companies, give up immediately. In October, 1660, the General Court empowered the Company to conduct through the colony a sufficient number of men to plant and possess the land and settle a trade with the natives, but stipulated that it must, within two years, erect a house upon its grant and settle there at least ten men.[1] In 1662 the Company secured a further extension of two years' time for making a settlement.[2] Thereafter it disappears from view for ten years.

In the last two attempts by Massachusetts merchants to gain access to the western fur trade a new element appears, which makes them closely analogous to the New Haven Delaware Company. In both cases the colony is seen working with its merchants, supporting their schemes, and willing if need be to back them against the Dutch even to the point of war. In both cases the merchants were working to build up a profitable fur trade, the colony to secure an extension of territory and an outlet for surplus population. The two purposes were immediately, but not ultimately, compatible. In the case of Massachusetts the merchants realized by 1660 that their best chance to compete successfully with the Dutch for the western fur trade was to get a foothold upon the Hudson, and their purpose seemed legitimate and commanded the support of the colony because by the terms of her sea-to-sea charter Massachusetts had claims to the upper Hudson.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. 438. It is here stated that in October, 1659, the General Court had granted the company a tract of land on the Hudson above Fort Orange, but nothing is said about such a grant in the only passage in the Records of that date which refers to the company (p. 395). There is, however, little reason to doubt that such a grant was made.

[2] Vol. iv. pt. ii. 51. According to Weeden (i. 161, citing Felt's Annals of Salem, i. 227), the company reported in 1662 an expenditure of £250 in running lines and £150 for a land journey and other expenses. Several members of the company, including Hathorne, were Salem men.

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It is true there was in that charter a clause reserving the rights of other Christian princes and states, but the Dutch were persistently regarded both by the settlers of New England and by the English government as having encroached upon territory which, by virtue of the grant by James I to the London and Plymouth companies, rightfully belonged to the English.[1] It is also true that a provisional settlement of the boundaries had been made at Hartford in 1650. Massachusetts, however, took the ground that in that treaty she was only acting the part of arbitrator, and that in any case the Treaty of Hartford had fixed the boundary only for a distance of twenty miles from the sea. Stuyvesant was on solid ground in maintaining that the Dutch had had possession of the territory in dispute long before the granting of the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and his contention that at the time of the Treaty of Hartford Massachusetts had put forward no claims to territory beyond the twenty-mile limit seems to be borne out by the clause of that treaty which provided that beyond that limit the boundary should be adjusted between the Dutch and New Haven.[2] But whatever the truth of the matter may have been, Massachusetts had an arguable claim and 1659 was a good time to press it, for England could not interfere and the Dutch were not only inferior in strength to the English but conscious of their

[1] For the official attitude at different times, see Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1574–1660, pp. 26 and 154; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 6–8; Thurloe, State Papers (1742), v. 81. Bradford in 1627 challenged the right of the Dutch to the country (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 52, 53), as did Gorges and Mason in 1632 (Captain John Mason, pp. 293, 296). Morton's opinion has already been quoted (New English Canaan, p. 240). Even after the Treaty of Hartford, the United Commissioners asserted in 1653 the priority of the English claims (Plymouth Colony Records, x. 13). I can find no justification for the statement of J. A. Stevens (Narrative and Critical History of America, iii. 386) that Cromwell in the treaty of 1654 formally recognised the Dutch title to New Netherland. An examination of the treaty (printed in Dumont, Corps Universel Diplomatique, vol. vi. pt. ii. 74–79) does not bear out his contention. It should be said, however, that after that peace Cromwell took the position that the Dutch could not be removed except by friendly agreement (Letter of William Leete to Samuel Disborow, October 10, 1654, in British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2519, fol. 10. I am here relying upon a transcript in the Library of Congress).

[2] The correspondence about the rival claims will be found partly in Plymouth Colony Records, x. 220, 443–446, partly in New York Colonial Documents, xiv. 446, 465. See also 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 512. The Hartford treaty is printed in Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 188–190.

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weakness and constantly in fear that the English would attempt to dispossess them.[1]

By 1672, when the third and last attempt of Massachusetts merchants to tap the Hudson River fur trade was made, conditions had changed. The Hudson valley was now in English hands, and what in 1660 had been an international affair sinks to the level of a colonial boundary dispute. The genesis of this last attempt is quite as obscure as that of the others. The leading figure in it is John Paine, son of that William Paine who had been a member of the companies of 1645 and 1659. For this reason it is likely that there was some sort of connection between this enterprise and those which had preceded it, although the exact nature of that connection is not clear. John Paine was probably consciously reviving an undertaking in which his father had been interested and which he regarded as part of his inheritance.[2]

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[1] Compare Stuyvesant's statement: "New-England does not need her [England's] interference and assistance in this matter, for she is conscious that her power overbalances ours ten times and it is to be apprehended, that they will in this matter make an attempt so much sooner, as they see and trust that during the present monstrous condition of the English government no countermanding order will be issued from that side; but we will willingly submit our speculations to wiser judgments and hope the best" (New York Colonial Documents, xiii. 162).

[2] John Paine was born in 1632 and upon his father's death in 1660 inherited the bulk of his property and interests. He engaged in mercantile enterprises in Boston and Portsmouth and was interested in various land speculations. Little is known about him except for this episode and another which is closely connected with it. At the time of his marriage he had received as a gift from his father-in-law, Richard Parker, 700 acres of land upon Prudence Island in Narragansett Bay. Learning at the time of his visit to New York in 1672 (A. W. Paine is apparently mistaken in having him go to New York in 1671) that the Duke of York, who had purchased the rights of the Earl of Stirling to Long Island and the adjacent islands, claimed jurisdiction over Prudence Island also, Paine got from Governor Lovelace a grant of the whole island to be held in fee simple for a yearly quit-rent of "two Barrels of Syder and six Couple of Capons," to be known as Sophy Manor. The story that Paine won the favor of Lovelace by contributing liberally toward the repair of Fort James comes from Arnold, the historian of Rhode Island, and I have been unable to discover the source of his information. Paine's action involved him in a lawsuit with the colony of Rhode Island for attempting to introduce a foreign jurisdiction, but before it was decided the matter was allowed to drop, probably because Paine gave up the contention that the island belonged to the Duke of York. Paine died shortly afterward, in 1675, having, it is said, before his death lost much of the property inherited from his father. Paltsits mistakenly attempts to identify him with a certain John Paine who came to New York as a soldier in 1664 (Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, i. 142 note 4). See A. W.

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In March, 1672, the Governor and Council of Massachusetts wrote to Governor Lovelace of New York laying claim to the country to the northward of the territory of the Duke of York. A new reason for this step was now advanced, namely, that the lands near the Hudson must be settled lest the French secure them and so endanger the safety of both Massachusetts and New York. The letter expressed the fear that Lovelace might not relish this proposal, but requested him to allow the bearer, John Paine, to explore the country for a place of settlement and to permit the use of the Hudson River for the transportation of goods and settlers. The address which Paine made to Lovelace does not increase our knowledge of the objects of the enterprise. "Now the mattathusetts true jntents herein," Paine assured Lovelace, "Js the jmprouem[t] of ther owne Rights Only, the jncreas off Plantations, and his majes[t] Subjects, and ther defense against the jnvations or jntrutions of a fforain Nation and no unkeind or Pollitick deuise to Expand ther Line Or Possessions vppon anie part of his Highnes y[e] Dukes Just Rights." It will be noted that nothing is said about the fur trade in the course of this correspondence.[1]

Lovelace received Paine in friendly fashion and allowed him to prosecute his discoveries along the east bank of the Hudson and up the Hoosac River.[2] His reply to Massachusetts was phrased in courteous but diplomatic language. While maintaining somewhat sarcastically that Massachusetts might better have revealed her design at the time of the late Commission (in 1664) which was instructed to settle boundary disputes, and assuring that colony that the present strict union of the crowns of England and France made uneasiness about French designs unnecessary, he informed them that he had permitted Paine to make explorations and had sent word of the plans

Paine, Paine Genealogy, pp. 78–92; Arnold, History of Rhode Island, i. 362–364; Brodhead, ii. 188–189; Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, ii. 725–736; 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 85.

[1] These documents, together with Lovelace's reply, are printed in Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, ii. 662–666. Two of them are printed in New York Colonial Documents, xiv. 664, 673. A brief account of the episode will be found in Brodhead, ii. 188. The original of Paine's address to Lovelace is to be found in New York Colonial Manuscripts, xxii. 137, and of Lovelace's reply to Massachusetts in the Massachusetts Archives, cxii. 225. See also Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, i. 121, 142.

[2] His journal is printed below, pp. 188–191.

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of Massachusetts to his master, whose instruction he must await before giving a definite reply.[1]

Again the real purpose of the design comes out in the proceedings at Boston, and once more it appears that Massachusetts was guilty of concealing important considerations in her correspondence with the neighboring colony. After his return Paine petitioned the General Court for a grant of a tract of ten square miles and a free trade with the Indians for twenty-one years in such things as were allowed to be traded at Albany. Paine states in his petition that he was entrusted with the mission to New York by the Court of Assistants, and that the land he had discovered, though not very valuable for husbandry, might, if settled, be of value in keeping the New England Indians loyal and in winning over the Mohawks.[2] We may conclude from this that the government of Massachusetts was pushing the affair with a view to a more effective control of Indian politics. The growing restlessness of the New England tribes and the increasing tendency of the Five Nations to push their enterprises to the eastward would make some such move seem imperative. It was becoming increasingly evident that the Five Nations controlled the Indian situation, and only by opening a trade with them could Massachusetts win their friendship and secure a share in influencing their policy. To attempt to use the Five Nations against hostile New England tribes was the policy of Massachusetts from King Philip's War to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer's War, an attempt which always failed because of the opposition of the Albany traders and the refusal of the government of New York to surrender its complete control over negotiations with that confederacy.[3] If we are justified in see-

[1] Minutes of the Executive Council of New York, ii. 664; New York Colonial Documents, xiv. 673.

[2] The petition is printed below, pp. 191–192.

[3] These statements are based upon extensive study by the writer of New York's Indian policy. A few references will suffice to illustrate their truth. As early as 1662 an attack by the Mohawks upon an English trading house on the Kennebec was the subject of negotiations between Massachusetts and the Dutch (Brodhead, i. 704; New York Colonial Documents, xiii. 224–227, 240, 297, 355, 378). Complaints of depredations by the Mohawks in Hampshire County were considered by the General Court in 1667 (Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. 359). The attempt of Connecticut and Massachusetts to get aid from the Mohawks at the time of King Philip's War and the attitude of New York at that time may be traced in Connecticut Colonial Records, ii. 397, 407, 414, 419, 426, 436, and F. B. Hough, Easton's Narrative and other Documents relating to King

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ing in this enterprise in 1672 the germ of that later policy, we must credit the government of Massachusetts with great foresight in realizing thus early that a successful handling of Indian politics in New England depended upon friendship with the Five Nations and ability to exercise a certain amount of control over their policy.

Again it would be interesting to speculate upon the results of success in such an enterprise. Would King Philip's War ever have occurred, or, if it had, would it have been as destructive as it was? Might not Massachusetts have been able, with the aid of the Five Nations, to break earlier the resistance of the Indians of Maine and so expand into that region? Would an alliance between Massachusetts and the Five Nations have neutralized the Dutch Albany influence over them and made impossible the neutrality which after 1702 existed between Albany and Canada, a neutrality which was so fatal to the safety of the frontier towns of western Massachusetts? We cannot say. The enterprise had almost no chance of success and like former ones had to be abandoned. 'What does appear is that Indian politics and the fur trade were the moving impulses in the enterprise rather than desire for new lands or defence against the French, the reasons alleged in the negotiations with Lovelace. Paine's report that the lands he had discovered were of little value for husbandry is significant of this. But to have put such reasons to the fore would have meant undoubted failure. The enterprise of 1672 differs from the others only in being based more upon considerations of public policy, although the General Court was encouraging private enterprise to undertake the work.

Paine's petition was granted by the General Court. He and such as might join with him were given a tract of ten square miles on or near the Hudson and free trade with the natives for twenty-one years.[1] The next spring, upon petition by Paine, Governor Leverett and John Pynchon were given power to regulate the affairs of the projected plantation, which "because a hill of a vast extent impedes the passag to that place" was to be twenty miles from the place originally intended, in a locality which could be reached by an overland passage.[2]

Philip's War (1858), pp. 155–159. The attitude of New York during Lt.-Gov. Dummer's War is sufficiently illustrated in the notes printed by McIlwain, Wraxall's Abridgment, pp. xlix, xciv.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. 548.

[2] Ibid. 558.

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Apparently the idea of using the Hudson as a right of way to the new settlement had been abandoned. In the autumn of that year the Court empowered Paine to run the southern line of the colony to the Hudson, and from a letter which he wrote to Governor Leverett in the spring of 1674 we learn that he actually intended to do so.[1] Here, however, record of Paine and his schemes deserts us. The failure of the plan to establish a settlement and trading post on the Hudson or in western Massachusetts can be readily accounted for by the Dutch occupation of New York in 1673–74 and the outbreak of King Philip's War which soon followed. That war not only devastated Massachusetts, but strained friendly relations with New York to such an extent that any encroachment upon territory claimed by that province would have been very impolitic.

Here the history of the attempts of Massachusetts merchants to prosecute western enterprises might well be brought to a close were it not for the interesting, but puzzling and highly improbable, story which Dr. Daniel Coxe many years later reported that he heard from Joseph Dudley. It was to the effect that at some date not named a party of men started from western New York, descended the Ohio, and went up the Yellow River so far that they reached certain Spanish plantations with which they traded. On their return they reported their travels to the magistrates of Boston.[2] No record of such a journey has ever been found, and there is a general disposition to doubt if it was ever made.[3] The connection of the story with Boston warrants a reference to it in this account of the early relations of Massachusetts to the West. The writer would suggest that if such a trip was ever made it was made by New York traders and reported to Andros when he was Governor of the Territory and Dominion of New England with headquarters at Boston. The connection of Dudley with that government would explain how he came to know of it. Up to the present time, however, no evidence has been unearthed to corroborate Coxe's story, and until such evidence is found it must remain in the class of tales which are interesting if true.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. 570; Massachusetts Archives, iii. 25.

[2] Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650–1674, p. 244.

[3] But see the opinion of F. E. Melvin in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, i. 260–262. Melvin believes that Coxe was less credulous than has been generally supposed.

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A single thread binds together all these enterprises: the effort of Massachusetts traders, handicapped by their situation, to secure direct access to the valuable fur trade which formed the basis of the prosperity of Albany and Canada. Access by overland routes was scarcely feasible, and all attempts to secure free navigation of the Hudson were blocked by the very natural opposition of the traders of New York and Albany. Moreover, the extension of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts to the Hudson meant a boundary dispute, first with the Dutch, and then with the scarcely more friendly colony of New York. Failure was all but inevitable, but the attempts are highly interesting as showing that under favorable circumstances the energies of Massachusetts might have been directed as much westward as seaward, and that we might have had in New England the development of just such a hunting, fur-trading frontier as was to be found later in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas.[1]

I

JOHN PAINE'S JOURNAL, 1672[2]

Jn° Paines Dierna^{ll} of a short discouery^{e} vp Albonj for a Plantation

After 8 dayes passag^{e} In Noyce Eijsons Sloop from N York wee Arriued at Albonij^{e} being ye 29th of Maij. 72. the 30th daij haueing by the assistance of Capt Silvest^{r} Salsburij^{e} Govr of ye s^{d} Place procured Garret tunison Cornelius Steuerson & Indian musquoij for Pilates, with Horses, provitions, and other necessaryes, wee Set forwards on o^{r} Jornj that nigh^{t} to m^{r} Rich^{d} van Ranslers Bowrij^{e} about 3 miles frō Albonj; where wee quartred & ffound ye Keindnes of ye house y^{e} .31. day erly in ye morne wee Sett forwards to m^{r} Gosons Bowre about 4 miles fard^{r}ther vppon his kein^{d} Invitation to a cup of strong bere wee made a little Stay thens Rod to ye half moon thre miles fard^{r}, where the grass Invite^{d} vs for o^{r} horses accom̄odation to draw bitt about half an houre, thens jorny^{d} .6. miles furd^{r} vp s^{d} Riuor to affordable place of ye same, ther baited & refresh^{t} or Selues and horses from eleven of

the first day Jornij May. 30th

the second day Jornȳ may ye 31th

[1] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. S. E. Morison for his suggestions and criticisms, which have been of great assistance to me in the preparation of this paper.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxii. 222–224.

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the day til one, then passed the Riuor to ye Easterne Side, and set or Corse east till ye bettor p^t^ of or afternoons Jornj was past, through a troblesom wood & thiket, cheiflye of Pines then bore Northerly^e^, mett with bettor Lands & woods not So troblesom for vnder wood, ye afternoon well spen^t^ wee mett with a Small Riuor wher wee Catched yong^e^ wild duks, & In a Short Trauil After wee mett with ye Riuor Hosick wch wee Set o^r^ corse for by Direction of o^r^ Indian Pilate and ther at nigh an howre before Son sett wee dismount^ed^, and vnder a green tree vppon the Lovely banck of the pleasant Little Riuor Hosick wee took vp or lodgeing^e^ wher proffere^d^ to or vew a fair^e^ Rich flatt Landes wch the Riuor Hosick, & ye other Small Riuor, Runes through; & at times Overflowes. & Adjoyneing ther to wee discover^d^ Plaine Lands partly also cleer of wood or trees, & partly. of bareing Pine trees &c, ye flatt & Plaine Lands^e^, wee Esteem at about fiue hundred Acors; about half thereof verij good & cleer for the Plough, the res^t^ much of it cleer but no^t^ durable for corne. y^es^ Lands^e^ Invironed with hills, and high Land^e^, Partly pine Lands & Partly Oke, & Swamps, wi^th^ two or thre Small peces of medo Landse, which wee haueing^e^ thus far discovered to or incoridg^e^m^t^ that nigh^t^ & the next mor^ne^, wee Sett or corse vppon the North side of hosik & ffolowed it vppon a westerly corse untill wee found wher it emptyed it self into Albonij^e^ Riuor, which alittle aboue i^t^ trends north east thereabou^ts^ to which wee jornijed from o^r^ Lodging^e^ at Hosick Riuor bank in neres^t^ foure houres; then vnbitted to refresh or horses, put on ye Kittle with or provitions, & went to ffishing & wth Succes. between one & two In ye afternoon perceiueing a promiseing fall wi^th^ a faire prospect on ye westerne Sid^e^ of albonj wee Attempte^d^ to ford ye Riuor, mett with an vneuen bottom, & aboue ye half way over adeep chanil between ye Rocks, over whic^h^ with Some difficulty & Small Losse wee pas^t^ two of ou^r^ horsees takeing a fall vppon ye Ragged Rocks, wher the water preserved them from much brooseing^e^, although threatned to cariy them, downe the fall but beijond o^r^ expectation wee recouerd them with ther Skines & Shinēs somthing^e^ broken. then Rod vp the Riuor about a mile and half, found nothing

the third days Jornj June ye first

3d days Jornj June ye 1st

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inviteing but a deep almost still Riuor; wch by Relation of o^{r} Indian continued nigh thre score miles vp. where-vppon wee returned and traviled hard downe the Riuor, had Reasonable Rideing & came that night within ten miles of ye half moon, & alittle short of a fordable place of Albonj Riuer wee took vp or Lodgeing for that night concludeing the first daij of June: the 2^{d} of June finding no place so accomodable to our horsees, nor delightf^{ll} to ourselues, wee forded the Riuor ouer to ye Eas^{t}. Side and took our corse North East & Easterly^{e} found good Rideing^{e} & vppon a leisurely^{e} wallke Sometimes picking^{e} of Strauberries & Ou^{r} horsees feeding ffell vppon the Southeas^{t} Corner of ye Plaine adjoyneing to ye fflatt Landes of the Little Riuor, and hosick Riuor; which wee bent our Corse vnto, & Is before described. and ther at or former Lodg^{e}ing vppon the pleasant Bankes of hosick, past away^{e} the Remainder of the day^{e} butt (Intending Erly the next morne to make furd^{r} discoverij^{e} vp Hosick Riuor to the falles thereof) wee that daij towar^{ds} evening two of vs Rod ouer Hosick, & vpp the Riuor aboue half a mile wee assendeed a hill, and by our vew of the wildernes vp the Riuor, apprehended ou^{r} India^{n} Pilate had giuen vs a true Relation of w^{t} wee Shoold find^{e} (vid) That the ffalles were a half dayes Jorn$\bar{y}$ vp the Riuor, and no valuable Landes between w^{t} wee had discovered and the ffales, whereuppon Wee Returned to our companj^{e} att Our Lodgeing^{e} and vppon Consultation that night altre^{d} or Course Intended & Resolved In the morne to take vp the other Small Riuor wch accordingly wee did. y^{t} bareing^{e} away to ye Southeast within about :2: miles and ahalf wee discovered a fall of about twentij foot perpendiculor, and a little aboue that another about :12. foot perpndiculo^{r} which haueing vewed, wee assended a great hill aboue them, and findeing acontinuation of mountino^{s} Lan^{ds} that gaue no incoridgem^{t} wee desended that hill againe and forded the Riuor aboue the Second ffalles. & ther took a Southerlij Course ouer great and wearisom hills of Pine, and Okeing Landes, ffortifid with vnderwood, Brambles, & Ruff shrubey Okes, So unkeind to vss, that theij woold hardly afford vs the Ligh^{t} of the Sonn^{e}, nor suffer vs to grope a passag^{e} through ther Territorie without Inforceing from vs the

4th dajes Jornj June the 2d–

the fifth days Jornj June ye 3d

[m]arked a tree & Sewed Peas by ye Riuors Bank–killed thre otters

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acknowledgem^{t} off our Raggs^{e} & our blood allso to wittnes ther Cruil vsag^{e}, which wearye of, wee held it not Reasonable longer to dispute with them, but altered or Corse to ye westwar^{d} of the South for the Riuor Albanij^{e}, wher^{abt} wee frendly lee [?] pas^{d} by^{e} our Smal enimies & Imputeing it to y^{r} crooked natures met with Somthing^{e} a more generos Soyle that admitted vs to pass vppon easyer tearmes, and offered Some Ref^{r}eshmen^{t} which (abou^{t} thre aclok in the afternoon ~~June the Second~~) wee Imbrasced. and after a Short respit trougeed on to the Riuer which wee mett with alittle aboue ye half moon, and ther forded over. which though late in the afternoon our horsees more Reviued with the Pleasantnes of the waij, that shoold concluide ther jorny^{e} then with ye ffeed y^{t} ther were Reffresht with Strove which shoold outgo the other, vntil they brought vs to our journyes end at Albonj Late that nigh^{t}, wher wee were again^{e} Keindly Reseived by the Gove^{r} to home wee offer^{d} this acc^{t} of or discouerye to our presen^{t} Sattisfaction.

Kiled two widgins & a Pattredge

Jno Paine
Garet Tunison × his mark
Cornelis Steuerson

II

John Paine's Petition, 1672 [1]

To the Hon^{rbe} Gen^{ll} Cour^{t} Assemb^{ld} at Boston —
The humble Adress of Jno Paine

Whereas the s^{d} Paine hath form^{r}ly been forward and Actiue with his Estate in Promoteing the mos^{t} Publiq Desighnes in Gen^{ll} which haue been Sett vppon for ye improueing of P[ ] and indeauoringe ye benifitt of the Collonie and hath paid [ ] of his Estate to Publiqs charges nere about fiftij pounds a yeer for many yeers together, and hath now in Prossecutiō of the trust Reposeed in him, by the Hon^{rbe} Court of Assistance with Some charges, made discouerie of Such a Tract of Land which though invalluable for a Towneship for husbandrie yett for ye Accōmodacions and Conveniancies of ye Cituacion a Place which hee humbly Conceiues, may be improued to ye great benefitt of this Collonie, As a meanes to Establish the Indians firme In ther adherence to this Gov^{r}m^{t} & in Peace one with another It lying^{e} between thes indians ou^{r} ffrien[ds] and

[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxii. 221.

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ye mohokes ther Enimyes, whome allso wee maij [ ] gain And as it will bee a defence against forain Intrusones, And an Accomodacion to ye Settleing other Plantacions off ffar great^r^ Vallew for husbandrije and maij afford incoridgem^t^ to ye vndertakers.

The s^d^ Paine hereuppon humblely offers to this hon^rbe^ Gen^ll^ Court If in ther great wisdom theij shall Judge fitt to favor him with that Preuiledg^e^ and trust. that he will Produce persons Qualifyed to ye honr^d^ Cour^ts^ acceptance. Who with the said Paine Shall indeauor the Settlem^t^ of a Plantacion as aboues^d^ In as Short time as may bee, without anie Charge to ye Collonie.

The honorb^le^ Gen^ll^ Cour^t^ Granting^e^ to s^d^ Paine & home hee shall make choyce of, being Persons Qualify^d^ to ye honr^d^ Courts Acceptance, for y^r^ great Expence & Charge they mus^t^ be att by Reason of the distance and difficultyes hereof, The aboues^d^ Tract of Land with^e^ the Adjacent wilderness Land to the Contents of ten miles Square, as s^d^ Paine and Comp^a^ Shall find^e^ it most Accom̄odabl together with the Preuiledge of ye Trade with ye Natiues in these westerne parts of this Collonie, without Prohibition of anie Sort of goods things or w^t^euor is necessarie & allow^d^ to be traded at Albanie The Land as an Inheritance foreuo^r^. The trade free 21 yeers

& y^or^ Petion^r^ Shall Praij

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS communicated a Memoir of ABNER CHENEY GOODELL, which Mr. Davis had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions of the Society.

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MEMOIR

OF

ABNER CHENEY GOODELL, A.M.

BY

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

THE skeleton of events which must furnish the frame for a memoir of Abner Cheney Goodell, or Abner Cheney Goodell, Junior, as he often signed his name, seems at first sight so free from adventure or exciting incidents as to make it seem incredible that with such means at hand, the bearer of the name should have been able to inscribe on the portals of fame a record which will compel recognition by all future students of Massachusetts history. Nearly all of Goodell's life was passed in Salem, and while he held at the hands of his fellow citizens various official positions which testified to the popular appreciation of his character and capacity, it was not to this local reputation that he will owe his recognition in the future, but to the patient, persistent, accurate, and learned work which he bestowed on the publication of the Province Laws.

In the performance of this work he not only sought to bring forth a complete record of the laws themselves, but also to lay before the student, through copious annotations, copies of the General Court records, bearing on the subject under consideration; reproductions of papers taken from the archives illustrative of the causes for legislation; transcripts from papers filed in the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province, and in the Rolls Office in London, and of such other material, especially if the same were inconspicuous or not easy of access, as would help form an idea of the social and political conditions affected by the legislation to which these notes were appended.

It is then as a helper, one who lifts the veil from a historical period, which has not been adequately brought to light, that he will appeal

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through his work to those who may hereafter be tempted to explore the paths of our provincial history.

To us who knew him personally, who watched him as he ransacked the archives in search of contributory material; who noted the patient industry with which he pursued the clues suggested by the research upon which he was engaged; who saw him as he laboriously eliminated errors from the printers' proofs submitted to him, until at last even his critical taste was satisfied, was also given the privilege of that individual touch with the man, which made so grateful to the visitor the cheery, affectionate greeting of this unobtrusive, erudite student.

The curious combination of an almost boyish look with the conspicuous signs of culture and study depicted upon his ruddy countenance, his bright hazel eye now sparkling with pleasure as he solved some hidden point in the work on which he was engaged, and anon flashing with quick impatience if he conceived that some person had wilfully interposed obstacles to the progress of the publication in which he was interested, all bring before us a picturesque personality utterly unlike what the dry-as-dust character of his work would naturally suggest.

Mr. Goodell's life was practically spent in Essex County. He was born, it is true, in Cambridgeport, on the first day of October, 1831, but when he was a child of six years of age, his father moved to Salem, and thenceforward claimed Salem as his home. There Goodell received his education in the public schools, graduating from the High School at the head of a class in which he had as classmates the brothers William G. and Joseph H. Choate. The conspicuous careers of these classmates furnish an opportunity to measure the intellectual endowment of one who could surpass them in a boyhood competition.

After two years spent in his father's machine shop, Goodell entered the law office of an uncle at Ipswich, and finally finished his study of the law in Salem in the office of Northend and Choate, being admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1852. It will be seen that at graduation from the Salem High School his career apparently parted from that of his friends and classmates, the Choates. They pursued their education by going to Harvard, while Goodell, though busily occupied in mechanical work, did not abandon his education

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at this point, but in private carried on certain of his studies. It is not to be supposed that this individual pursuit of learning was for him the full equivalent of a college course, but knowing the man as we do, it may at least be said that the gain that he derived from it was fully equivalent to the benefits acquired by many students from their collegiate career. The same year that he was admitted to the bar, the two Choates graduated at Harvard, the one the first scholar in the class, the other the fourth. What a triumph it would have been for the Salem High School, if the boy who had led those two scholars in that school, had carried the contest on to Harvard!

Mr. Goodell entered practice at Lynn, where he is said to have established a good business during the five years that he remained there. He was, however, diverted from active practice by the appointment in 1856 as Register of the Court of Insolvency in Essex County, a court then newly established. To this office he was elected the next year, and after the consolidation of the Insolvency and Probate Courts in 1858, he was elected Register of the joint courts consecutively for twenty years. He served the City of Salem as alderman in 1865, having been elected to that position by a unanimous vote. He was actuated in seeking this office by a desire to aid in the establishment of a water system for the city.

In 1865 he was appointed one of a commission to prepare for publication a complete copy of the statutes and laws of the Province and State of Massachusetts Bay from the time of the Province charter to the adoption of the Constitution, including all sessions acts, private and public, general and special, temporary and perpetual, passed from time to time by the General Court, all incorporations of towns and parishes, and all other legislative acts of historical importance, appearing on the records of the General Court, with suitable marginal references to the statutes and decisions of the Province and Commonwealth, the orders of the king in council, and such other authorities as in the opinion of the commissioners might enhance the value and usefulness of the work, and to append to the same a complete index.

The commission appointed under this resolve, consisted of John H. Clifford, Ellis Ames, and Abner C. Goodell. The transcript copies of laws, records, and references prepared by them is now on deposit in the archives.

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In 1867, the printing of one volume of the Laws was authorized, and Mr. Ames and Mr. Goodell were appointed a commission to supervise its progress. This step marks an epoch in the life of Goodell, for although he did not at once take on his shoulders the burdens of editorship, nor assume responsibility for procuring annually the legislation needed for the continuance of the work, still his interest was stimulated by the problems submitted to the commission, among which was the method of annotation to be adopted in the forthcoming volumes. Marginal references as suggested in the original resolve, were seen from the beginning to be inadequate, and with the acquiescence of the Governor of the State, the system of annotation was adopted which was made use of in all volumes of the series until 1896.

When this publication began, Goodell was still Register of Probate and Insolvency in Essex County, and in addition had in 1865 become President of the Salem and South Danvers Street Railway Company. This latter position he filled for nineteen years, and by judicious management converted a practically bankrupt road into a flourishing company of great earning capacity.

Beginning with 1879, Goodell is said to have made the editorship of the Province Laws his chief work. Up to that time he had received no salary for his services, and thereafter what he did receive was meagre and inadequate. He served not for the salary but from pure delight in the work itself.

The third volume of the series was issued in 1878, coincident with the close of his career in the Registry. His connection with the presidency of the Street Railway was terminated in 1884, and with the exception that he served as president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society from January, 1887, to June, 1892, he seems to have subordinated all other occupations to the work of preparing copy for the forthcoming volumes of the Province Laws and ransacking the records both in this country and in England for material in illustration of this legislation, and to the supervision of the publication of such material. The commission which had the work in charge was reorganized in 1890, and the oversight of the work was in 1896 put in the hands of the Governor and Council.

Up to the time that this latter action was taken, Mr. Goodell had remained in active association with the work, and during the last

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seventeen years his whole thought had been to place this edition of the Province Laws at the head of all similar publications, for the value of the illustrative material which it should contain. To effect this purpose all of his energies and activities were put forth, and during the latter part of the time he had no local or personal occupation which interfered with his movements.

The progress of the publication of the Province Laws had not been uniformly rapid during this long period of thirty years which measured his connection with the work. The State had not at its command buildings enough to house the various commissions that were created from time to time, and the orderly arrangement of the papers under consideration was interfered with no less than thirteen times by changes of the editorial staff from room to room, made at different intervals. Moreover, as time went on, opposition to the publication itself arose, based in the minds of some upon doubts as to the practical value of the work, while others insisted that undue time was being wasted in seeking for and perfecting the material used in the annotations. In fact, through this opposition there were delays in the passage of the necessary appropriations, and the continuity of the work at such times was maintained solely by the temporary assumption on the part of Mr. Goodell of responsibility for payment of clerical services.

He himself estimated that the various interruptions to the work on the Province Laws actually reduced the time given him to the preparation of those volumes to which his name is attached to less than nineteen years of actual work. However that may be, as time went on dissatisfaction with the slow progress of the work increased, criticism of the great expense of the publication accumulated, and opposition to its continuance had to be overcome each year when the necessary appropriations were sought for from the legislature.

In spite of the hostility to the copious system of annotation adopted by Mr. Goodell, appropriations were secured from year to year, adequate to carry on the work, until 1896, when the control of the publication was placed in the hands of the Governor and Council, and the amount left at the disposal of the Treasurer for application to this work was not large enough to meet the clerical services of the office force.

Up to this time the story of the vicissitudes of the Province Law

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publications contained the essentials for a life of Goodell, that is to say, for that portion of his life in which his mind was concentrated upon congenial work. He was responsible for the character of that work. His energy kept it in motion. His erudition made it of value. His phenomenal capacity gave it reputation. His hope for fame rested upon it.

His unyielding firmness on the question of completeness and accuracy had, it is true, alienated some friends who wished to see more rapid progress, but there were few who were prepared for the action of the Governor and Council, shortly after they took control, in revolutionizing the character of the work by ordering only marginal annotations thereafter, their order going even to the extent of requiring the destruction of the plates for forthcoming volumes which had already been cast, and substituting for notes simple references. This step was swiftly followed by the removal of Mr. Goodell from office in a manner which was intentionally discourteous. The causes for the irritation which led up to this discourtesy are to be found in the fact that the lodging of the control of the editorship of the Province Laws in the hands of the Governor and Council was in itself hostile to Mr. Goodell and a blow at his methods. Furthermore, the situation had been aggravated by certain correspondence between Mr. Goodell and the Governor and Council.

The sixth volume of the Province Laws had been reserved for the Private Acts. It was partly in type at this time, and of the one hundred and two Acts within its covers twenty-seven had been annotated and the notes thereto set up and stereotyped. In all probability Mr. Goodell cared more for the opportunity to collate authorities and expand information upon the subjects of some of the chapters in this volume than upon those contained in any other volume in the series. The evident interest with which in the fifth volume he had followed up the question of nominal adhesion to a consecutive legal form of government, through conventions, elections, and Congresses, at the time of the conversion of the government from Province to State, may perhaps cause this statement to be challenged, but a glance at the marginal references in the sixth volume will show the subjects that he wished particularly to develop. Students will especially regret that the notes to Chapter Sixteen on witchcraft were never elaborated.

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Mr. Goodell's separation from his editorial work was done in such a harsh and arbitrary manner that it did not seem possible that a chance should ever be offered him to renew his labors in that position. As a matter of fact, however, such an opportunity was placed at his service. In 1898, Governor Wolcott took up the subject of the publication of the Province Laws and appointed a committee to recommend some method for doing this work. This committee reported that, if possible, the services of Mr. Goodell should be secured, and in due course of time the committee was authorized to employ him to carry on the publication. However grateful it might have been for him to be thus re-instated in his position, he refrained, perhaps wisely, from accepting the trust.

We have seen that Goodell was at one time the president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was also a vice-president of the Essex Institute, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of the Old Colony Historical Society, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was honored with the degree of A.M. by Amherst College and was an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He was a corresponding member of the New York, New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island Historical Societies.

He was married in 1866 and his widow and two sons survive him. The house in which he lived in Salem, was known as "the old jail." He had, however, eliminated whatever might have suggested the former occupancy, and had added a room for his library. This large apartment had a balcony running around the inside of the room to give access to the books in the upper part. The light was obtained from above, and here, surrounded by his books, in the full enjoyment of the companionship of a devoted wife, he passed the latter years of his life.

He was by temperament fond of polemical discussion and participated in the celebrated controversy in the Massachusetts Historical Society concerning town governments in New England, took a hand in the dispute in the same society concerning the propriety of honoring Crispus Attucks, and nearer home he raised his voice in the attempts in the Essex Institute to determine whether the little building restored and protected by that society was in reality entitled to be called a church.

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Court proceedings in provincial days and especially the subtleties of special pleading had a fascination for him, and the mysteries of witchcraft led him to accumulate many books in his library on the subject. The results of his careful study of these volumes would have been preserved if he had been permitted to publish the notes to the sixteenth chapter of Volume VI of the Laws, on which he was undoubtedly at work at the time when the system of annotation was changed.

The Colonial Society must ever be grateful to him for the active assistance that he gave us during the early days of our existence.

On the 19th of July, 1914, in the eighty-third year of his age, Mr. Goodell, notwithstanding the tender cares with which he was surrounded, yielded to the infirmities of the flesh. With his death there passed from the rolls of Massachusetts the most accomplished student of the history of the provincial period of the life of the Commonwealth, living within its borders, perhaps the most thoroughly equipped man on the subject that ever lived.

In the pages of this brief sketch we have had a glimpse of Goodell as the brilliant school-boy; we have learned that he served the county or the city in which he lived for years with satisfaction to his constituents; we have seen him presented as the successful lawyer and the efficient executive of a street railway company; and through the hasty and imperfect account given herein of the publication of the Province Laws, we have seen him engaged in the work for which of all others he was the best fitted, and in the performance of which he himself took great satisfaction, while at the same time he surprised historical students by his industry and erudition.

It has been given to others better qualified to speak thereon, to present the picture of his happy home, to show him in his declining years surrounded with affectionate attention, welcoming visitors and making them at ease through his genial manners and brilliant conversational powers. The esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens was summarized in the sketch of his life published by George G. Putnam in the Bulletin of the Essex Institute, to which I am indebted for the main facts of his career in Salem, in the following words: "Mr. Goodell was a warm friend, a polished and courtly gentleman, and a loyal, public spirited, progressive citizen."

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1916

A STATED Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 February, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Vice-President ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO accepting Resident Membership.

On behalf of Mr. FRED N. ROBINSON the following paper was communicated:

A SECOND SONG BY THOMAS O'MEEHAN RELATING TO WASHINGTON[1]

The Society is really indebted for knowledge of the following poem to Professor Douglas Hyde, of Dublin, who generously allowed himself to be consulted about the earlier verses of O'Meehan, communicated by Mr. Kittredge in 1911,[2] and who, upon finding this second song with reference to Washington, sent a copy of it to me. Dr. Hyde has also had the kindness to collate the copy with the original in the O'Curry manuscript and to make a number of valuable suggestions, which are acknowledged below, concerning the translation and interpretation.

Both of O'Meehan's poems seem certainly to have been written during the American Revolution. In the one first published there is, as Mr. Kittredge pointed out, a reference to Washington's defeat of Howe which fixes the date soon after the evacuation of Boston

[1] The poem was communicated in February, 1915 (see p. 27, above), but its publication has been delayed until the text could be collated with the manuscript in Dublin.

[2] Publications, xiii. 254–259.

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in 1776; and the second song refers with equal clearness to events of the year 1779. No specific act of Washington's is there mentioned, and the praise of Paul Jones would have been appropriate at any time after the seizure of Whitehaven in 1778. But it was in 1779 that the hostile French fleet entered St. George's Channel, and that Jones sailed for Scotland with a squadron of French and American vessels combined. It was in 1779, too, that Friar Arthur O'Leary — unquestionably the "Brother O'Leary" of the poem — published his Address to the Common People of the Roman Catholic Religion concerning the Apprehended French Invasion, an appeal to Irish Catholics to remain loyal to the British crown. Since both the naval campaign of the French and the activity of O'Leary are referred to by O'Meehan as if strictly contemporary, the writing of the poem is probably to be assigned to the same year.

For other allusions in the song it has not been possible to find definite explanation. The "lad of gold," who was a pet at christenings and weddings, was either O'Leary himself — a possibility which is discussed below — or some unknown local celebrity. Dr. Hyde, whose knowledge of modern Irish manuscripts and oral tradition is probably as extensive as that of any living scholar, is unable to identify the character. The statement that the lad was "descended from Mór" is less helpful than it might appear, for it probably means, as Dr. Hyde remarks, simply that he was of pure Gaelic stock. The freedom or relief which O'Meehan says the British "Boors" have granted the Irish through fear of foreign attacks may mean merely abatement of rent, since that is a common application of the Irish word *lagsaine;* but it is quite as likely that reference is intended to more general measures for the improvement of Irish conditions. In 1778, it will be recalled, Lord North proposed a policy of greater liberality toward Irish Catholics, and a few trading privileges were conferred on Ireland by the British House of Commons. Again in 1779 and 1780 freer commercial laws were passed for the benefit of the Irish.

In Mr. Kittredge's communication references were given to three poems of O'Meehan which had been previously printed.[1] To these

[1] One in John Lloyd's Short Tour (1780); the second in O'Looney's Clare Bards (1863); and the third in Father Dinneen's edition of Tadag Gaolach O'Sullivan (1893).

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songs may be added two more.[1] They are noted in the recent Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature of the National Library of Ireland,[2] which, however, makes no mention of the pieces printed by O'Looney, Father Dinneen, and Mr. Kittredge, or, of course, of the one given below.

Of the song now published two manuscript copies are known to Dr. Hyde, one in O'Curry's unpublished collection of historical poems in the Library of University College, Dublin,[3] and another in the Royal Irish Academy.[4] The printed text is based upon the former, and a few variants from the latter, noted by Dr. Hyde, are registered in footnotes. O'Curry's manuscript was written, Dr. Hyde says, in Roman characters about 1838.

A note of the scribe at the end of the poem indicates that it was to be sung to the tune *Do dhéanfainn-se bróg is céachta ar an g-cóir*. There seems to be no mention of this title in the published treatises on Irish music, but Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood, of Enniscorthy, Ireland, who has kindly supplied information about both songs of O'Meehan, writes that the tune referred to is identical with the one more familiarly known as *Fágamaoid súd mar atá sé*. This air, which is said to be sung in all the counties of Munster and used for a number of songs both Gaelic and English, is published by Dr. P. W. Joyce in his Ancient Irish Music.[5]

Transliteration of the Irish Text

Tomás úa Miodhacháin *cct.*

1. A uaisle Inis Eilge de chnuas-cheap na nGaedheal
   Tá luaisgithe a mbuaireamh is suaithte ag an saoghal
   Do chaill le cam dlighe is le hachtannaibh daoir
   Gach paiste dár sealbhuigh bhúr [6] sínsear
   Musclaidh go luith-chleasach feasta chun éacht
   Is lubaigh go húrlainn bhúr lanna go léir
   I ccoinne gach dreamm d'fhág sibh-se go fann
   Le fada gan sealbh gan saoirse.

[1] Published in The Nation (Dublin, 1858), N. S., ix. 731, 763.
[2] Dublin (1913), p. 217.
[3] Irish MS. No. IX.
[4] MS. $\frac{23}{B37}$.
[5] London (1906), pp. 13–14.
[6] *bhúr*, O'C; *do*, MS. R. I. A

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2. Ni bhfuil suairceas a sgeul i nduanta ná a ndréacht
Na greann ar chómhluadar na n-uasal 'tá tréith [1]
Giodh bíon giolla an óir do shíolraigh ó Mhóir
'Na pheata ar gach baist*eadh* acus pósadh
Féuch Bráthair O Laoghaire cidh claon lin*n* a rádh
Mar chruadhann sé an coillear [2] leis an té bhíon ar fághan
Do bheirim do súd breis tairbhe an úird
Is cead raide do'n aicme 'tá scolta.[3]

3. Do bheirim an chraobh do Washington saor
Is do Jones atá ar fairrge ag gread*adh* na bpiléar
Is iad súd an bhuidhean do throideadh [4] go binn
Ag seasamh i ngradam 's i nglóire
Is tríotha so is fleet mara Laoisigh [5] do shiubhail
Pé lon*nradh* beag lagsaine gheallaid na Búir
Ní bhfadhach sibh cead lease [6] ar bothán na ngéadh
No gur leathain an eagla ar Seóirse.

4. Nach léir dhibh nuair [7] bhí clann Iacob na ngníomh
I ffad aige Pharaoh fé cháin is fé chíos [8]
Le hûrnaighthe shíor is clú-chleasaibh cloidhimh
Go dtangadar slán as an Egypt
An sompla glacaig le meanmain árd
Os dóigh lin*n* na mairid [9] lucht fearaibh as feárr
Le faobhar is le fíoch [10] gan staonadh gan sgíth
Lom-chartaidh bhúr namhaid tar Thetis. — Críoch.

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[1] *tréith*, MS. R. I. A.; *faon*, O'C.

[2] So O'C; *mar cruadann a coiléir* (*an coiléir*), MS. R. I. A.

[3] Dr. Hyde is not quite sure that the MS. has *scolta;* possibly the reading should be *seolta*, "guided," "taught." In either case the reference would be to the poor Gaelic people.

[4] *do throideadh*, O'C; *do throideann*, MS. R. I. A.

[5] *Laoisigh*, O'C; *laoirce*, MS. R. I. A.

[6] *lease*, O'C; *leighis*, MS. R. I. A.

[7] *nuair*, O'C; *tan*, MS. R. I. A.

[8] *chíos*, O'C; *chuing*, MS. R. I. A.

[9] *Os doigh linn na mairid*, O'C; *Os dóthchus na maireann*, MS. R. I. A.

[10] *is le fioch*, O'C; *agus fioch*, MS. R. I. A.

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TRANSLATION

Thomas O'Meehan cecinit.

1. O noble Inis Eilge,[1] of the fruitful stock of the Gael,
Which is rocked in trouble and shaken with the age,
Which has lost through misrule and the foreigner's laws
Every patch which your elders possessed,
Awake now to action with strength and skill,
And bend to your spear-shafts altogether
Against every troop which has left you weak
For a long time without possession, without freedom.

2. There is no pleasure in story, in song, or in poem,
Nor mirth among the throng of nobles who are weak,
Although the lad of gold, descended from Mór,
Is a pet at every christening and wedding.
Behold Brother O'Leary — though it is an ill thing to say —
How he tightens the yoke for the man who is wandering.
I give him there more than the profits of his order,
And to the tribe who are scalded [I give] leave to talk.[2]

[1] *Inis Eilge*, "Island of Elg," is an old poetic name for Ireland of uncertain origin. Compare Kuno Meyer, in the Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1913, p. 446.

[2] "Brother O'Leary" is the Reverend Arthur O'Leary, a Capuchin friar, who labored conspicuously to keep the Irish Catholics loyal to the British throne. By so doing, O'Meehan declares, he tightened the yoke (literally, the collar) for the man who is wandering. It seems safest to interpret this phrase as a general reference to the wretchedness of the poor Gaels, though a more particular application to the fortunes of the young Pretender is also possible. In O'Meehan's other poem on Washington, it may be recalled, the name of "the innocent Charles Stuart" was linked with those of Louis of France and the American leader, and at the time when the second song was written the condition of Charles Edward was certainly that of a discredited wanderer. Still the figure of "tightening the yoke" seems to apply best to the oppression of the people. The last couplet of the stanza doubtless means, as Dr. Hyde suggests, that O'Leary was making a profit out of bribes, while the wretched Gaels got nothing but "leave to talk." O'Leary is known to have been in receipt of a government pension, for his loyal writings, before 1784. The "lad of gold" has not been identified, unless the name applies also to O'Leary. The order of the passage seems at first to favor the view that some other character is referred to. But this is by no means certain, and the epithet would have been a natural one for O'Meehan to apply to O'Leary. It might be interpreted as a general term of praise, here ironically employed with reference to the popular and prosperous clergyman; or one might even see in the phrase a double meaning which anticipates the later reference to bribes.

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3. I give the palm to noble Washington
And to Jones, who is on the sea in the crashing of cannon-balls;
They are the troops who are fighting splendidly,
Standing in honor and glory.
It is because of them and the sea-fleet of Louis, which has set out,
If there is any glimmering of relief that the Boors promise us.
You would not get even leave for a lease of a hut for the geese
Till the fear [of French and Americans] spread over George.

4. Do you not know that the children of Jacob of the exploits,
When they were long with Pharaoh under tax and tribute,
By continued prayer and famous feats of the sword
Came safely forth out of Egypt?
Take example of them with high spirit, —
For I am sure there lives no body of men who are better;
With sword-edge and with anger, without flinching or ceasing,
Make clean riddance of your foes across Thetis. —
The End.

Mr. Albert Matthews made the following communication:

SAMUEL MATHER (H. C. 1723)
HIS HONORARY DEGREES AND WORKS

Samuel Mather has fared hardly both at the hands of bibliographers and in the Harvard Triennials and Quinquennials. He is supposed to have received three honorary degrees — A.M. from Yale in 1724 or 1725; A.M. from Glasgow in 1731; and D.D. from Aberdeen in 1762. Yet the first honor was not accorded him until one hundred and eight or nine years after it had been conferred, and the exact date is even now uncertain; the second honor, after having graced his name for one hundred and sixty-seven years, was ruthlessly torn from him in 1900; while the third honor was suddenly thrust upon him in the same year, though it had never before been known — at least in this country — that he had achieved it. Indeed, it is possible that his name has never been correctly entered in any edition of these *biblia non biblia:* and the official publications of four universities — Harvard, Yale, Glasgow, and Aberdeen — are alike defective.

These notes are offered in the hope that they will make easier the task of the editor of the next edition of the indispensable Quinquennial. Perhaps, too, they will serve as a warning to the man in the

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street who, on the appearance of each new edition, complains of its errors of commission or omission or both; since they show that the compilation of such a volume sometimes presents peculiar difficulties. Let us consider the degrees chronologically.

The Yale Degree, 1724

That Mather received the degree of A.M. from Yale has never been in question, though no Harvard Triennial accorded him the honor until 1833. But there has been a curious discrepancy in both the Harvard and the Yale catalogues as to when the degree was given. In 1724 Yale conferred an A.M. on David Yale, and presumably (as it will appear) on Mather also. In the 1724 Yale Triennial is this entry:

[1721.]

David Yale Mr.

No copies of the 1727–1736 Yale Triennials are extant. In those for 1739–1745 the entry reads:

(1721)

*David Yale *Mr.*

Samuel Mather *Mr. Cant. Nov. & Glascuæ.*

If such an entry were to appear in a modern catalogue, it would mean that the two persons named had graduated A.B. at Yale in 1721 and had received their A.M. in course at the end of the third year — that is, in 1724.[1] But in the eighteenth century catalogues

[1] At Harvard the degree of Master of Arts, which from 1645 to 1869 was given in course — that is, at the end of the third year after obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts — has been granted since 1869 on examination only. Hence, previous to 1870, no date follows the A.M. degree, unless it was granted more than three years after graduation.

In the 1830 Harvard Triennial the names of those who received honorary degrees were for the first time placed by themselves at the end, each under the year when the degree was conferred. Previous to 1830 the practice was confusing, for the name of each recipient was placed under the class in which he graduated A.B. in some other college; or, if he was not a college graduate, in the class to which he presumably would have belonged had he gone to college; and a dash separated the names of those who graduated A.B. from those who received honorary degrees, the date when the latter were conferred being also given. Thus the first degrees conferred on Franklin and on Washington were respectively A.M. in 1753 and LL.D. in 1776, both from Harvard. In the 1754 Triennial the name of Franklin appears under the class of 1724, and in the 1776 Triennial that of Wash-

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were constructed on a different plan; and the natural inference to be drawn from the above entry is that David Yale and Mather received their degrees in 1724. No copy of the 1748 Yale Triennial is extant. In that for 1751 a still different plan was adopted, and those who received honorary degrees were placed at the end by themselves, under the name of the college from which each had graduated. Hence the entry reads:

HARVARDINI

Laurea Yalensi Donati.

1724

Samuel Mather Mr. et Gla. 1723

And thus the entry stood down to and including the 1865 Triennial.[1] But in that for 1868 the year 1724 suddenly became 1725, and has so remained ever since.

Turning to the Harvard Triennials and Quinquennials we find, as already stated, that Mather's degree from Yale was first recognized in 1833, when it appeared without date. In 1842 the date 1724 was added, and remained through 1885, but in 1890 the year suddenly changed from 1724 to 1725 and has so remained ever since. Probably the reason for this change was the earlier change made by Yale in 1868.

Which year is right — 1724 or 1725? The fact that the early Yale Triennials invariably give 1724, when they give a date at all, is presumptive evidence that the degree was conferred in that year. Yet if it was, why did not Mather's name appear in the 1724 Yale Triennial as did that of David Yale?

In a letter to Gurdon Saltonstall, then Governor of Connecticut, Cotton Mather, writing on August 31, 1724, said:

ington under the class of 1749. That is, it was assumed that if Franklin and Washington had gone to college they would have graduated in those years respectively.

The early practice at Yale was still more confusing, since no dash separated the names of those graduating A.B. from those receiving honorary degrees, and no date was attached to the names of the latter.

[1] That is, the entry so stood as regards the date of the conferring of the degree. In the 1772 and 1775 Yale Triennials Mather's Harvard class is misprinted 1725. Innumerable differences in typography, in arrangement, and in details occur in the different editions of both the Yale and the Harvard Triennials and Quinquennials.

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A Young Man, who counts it well worth his Travel and Expence, to visit *New London*, only to come under Notice with your Honour, is also ambitious of Riding in your Guards to the Commencement at *New-haven*. . . . He wisbes, that he had been of a year or two Longer Standing; then he would have humbly Supplicated, for Leave to have stood as a Candidate and Competent for a Degree, in a Colledge which his Father has been sometimes a Small Actor for; and where the Memory of his Ancestors would bespeak some Easy Terms for his Admission to so much Honour, tho' his Learning should not be aequal to that of many others. But it must be enough unto him, to be Admitted as a Spectator, among them who wish well to *Yale Colledge* and would lay hold on all opportunities to putt all possible Respects upon it. So I leave *Ascanius* under your Honors favourable Patronage.

On September 1 he records "That *Samachi* may make some further Improvements and be encouraged in his Industry, I give my Countenance and Assistance, unto a Journey, which he desires to take unto *New London*, and so unto *New-Haven*, that he may be present at the Commencement there." And under date of September 22 is this entry: "I am informed, that my Son, *Samuel*, in the Journey to *New-haven* from which he is not yett returned, has had the uncommon Respects of the Degree of M.A. conferred on him, at the Commencement there. If it be true, he is distinguished, by being a graduated Mr. of Arts, while he is yett short of eighteen years of Age." [1]

It may be concluded, then, that the degree was conferred in 1724, and the fact that Mather's name does not appear in the Triennial of that year is capable of an easy explanation. That catalogue was printed at New London, and so copy must have been sent from New Haven some time before Commencement, which came on Wednesday, September 9. David Yale had no doubt been voted his degree long before that, while the conferring of a degree on Samuel Mather was unthought of until Governor Saltonstall received early in September Cotton Mather's letter of August 31 and took "Ascanius" under his patronage, and so the degree was voted too late for the insertion of Mather's name.[2]

[1] Diary of Cotton Mather, ii. 805, 758–759, 762–763.

[2] Our associate Professor Franklin B. Dexter, to whom I am indebted for information about the 1742–1745 and 1751 Triennials, writes: "In 1868 the change to 1725 was made, unhappily, on the theory that if given in 1724 it would have

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THE GLASGOW DEGREE, 1731

A few Harvard graduates had received degrees, honorary or otherwise, from various European universities previous to 1731,[1] but their number was not so great that the simultaneous arrival in that year of three diplomas from Glasgow University passed without comment.[2] On the contrary, when, at a meeting of the Overseers held November 1, 1731, Governor Belcher produced the diplomas, the Board was so pleased that it took immediate action.

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been entered in the Catalogue of that year, and also because, although other instances could be found where in those early days a Master's degree was given two years after a Bachelor's degree, no other instance occurs of a Master's degree after an interval of one year."

[1] There has been much uncertainty in regard to degrees, honorary or otherwise, conferred on Harvard graduates by foreign universities previous to 1731, and different editions of the Triennials and Quinquennials vary in this respect. The following list is compiled from the 1915 Quinquennial:

1642 Benjamin Woodbridge, A.M. Oxford 1648
1642 Henry Saltonstall, M.D. Padua 1649
1645 James Ward, A.M. Oxford 1648, M.B. Oxford 1649
1650 William Stoughton, A.M. Oxford 1653
1650 John Glover, M.D. Aberd. 1654
1650 Leonard Hoar, M.D. Cambr. 1671
1651 Isaac Chauncy, M.D.
1651 Ichabod Chauncy, M.D.
1653 Joshua Ambrose, A.M. Oxford 1656
1656 Increase Mather, A.M. Dublin 1658
1656 John Haynes, A.M. Cambr. 1660
1674 Edmund Davie, M.D. Padua
1678 Cotton Mather, S.T.D. Glasgow 1710
1684 Samuel Myles, A.M. Oxford 1693
1693 William Vesey, A.M. Oxford 1697
1699 Jeremiah Dummer, Ph.D. Utrecht 1703
1701 Timothy Cutler, S.T.D. Oxford 1723, Cambr. 1723
1710 Edward Wigglesworth, S.T.D. Edinburgh 1730
1722 Ebenezer Miller, A.M. also Oxford 1726.

It is not known when or from what university the Chauncys received their degrees, nor when Davie obtained his. It may be added that George Stirk, who graduated in 1646 and later changed his name to Starkey, presumably also received the degree of M.D., though again when and from what university is unknown.

[2] The bestowal of an honorary degree on a Harvard man by a foreign university was usually, if not always, noted in the Boston newspapers of the eighteenth century. Thus Cutler's degree from Oxford was noted in the New England Courant of July 22, 1723, p. 2/1; and Wigglesworth's degree from Edinburgh was noted in the Boston News Letter of August 27, 1730, p. 2/1.

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There is no mention of the diplomas in the Overseers' Records or in President Wadsworth's Diary, but what that action was we learn from the newspapers:

Cambridge, November, 1. This Day there was a Meeting of the Honourable & Reverend the Overseers of Harvard College, in the Library of said College. And after the Business of their Convening was over, His Excellency Governor BELCHER produc'd three Diploma's from the University of *Glasgow*, which were directed and inclosed to him: By them it appears the Senate of that Ancient & Illustrious University have conferr'd the Honour of a Doctor's Degree of Divinity on the Reverend Mr. BENJAMIN COLMAN, and Mr. JOSEPH SEWALL, Ministers in *Boston;* and of a Degree of Master of Arts on Mr. MATHER, Chaplain to His Majesty's Castle William. The Gentlemen who have been so honoured by the University, cannot but be gratyfied with the free and generous manner wherein their Degrees have been conferr'd, being what they never sought. And indeed this must be mentioned as one, among the many, distinguishing Honours of that University, That they look on Real Merit in Foreigners, as worthy of their Encouragement without any Application for it.

After His Excellency the Governor had deliver'd these Diplomas, the Overseers ordered them to be inroll'd in the Publick Records of Harvard College.[1]

Accordingly, the three diplomas, all dated May 28, 1731, were duly entered in College Book III. 156–158.[2] The two persons honored with the degree of D.D. were the Rev. Benjamin Colman of the class of 1692 and the Rev. Joseph Sewall of the class of 1707. But who was the "Mr. Mather, Chaplain to His Majesty's Castle William," on whom the degree of A.M. was conferred? That this was the Samuel Mather under discussion was believed at the time. The diploma itself, as entered in College Book III. 156, reads in part as follows:

Quum compertum habeamus Egregium Juvenem SAMUELEM MATHER apud Novæ-Angliæ Bostonienses optimis deditum Studiis ea praeditum

[1] New England Weekly Journal, November 8, 1731, p. 2/2. The same notice appeared in the Boston News Letter of November 4.

[2] In College Book III. 137–170 are entered twenty-five diplomas for honorary degrees, most of which were received by Harvard graduates from other universities or conferred by Harvard College. A list of these was given by Mr. William C. Lane in our Publications, x. 230 note 2.

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esse Eruditione iis Virtutibus quæ eum honoribus Academicis reddant dignissimum, Nos eum optimi et nobis amicissimi Parentis non degenerem filium absentem ornare; Officii esse duximus Nostri. Dictum propterea SAMUELEM MATHER Artium Magistrum creamus et renunciamus, . . .

The Weekly Rehearsal of November 8, 1731, said: "The Revd. Mr. *Benjamin Colman* and Mr. *Joseph Sewall* of this Town, have the last Week received Diplomas from the University of *Glasgow*, admitting them Doctors in Divinity. Mr. *Samuel Mather* was at the same Time honour'd with a Master's Degree by a Diploma from the same Senate" (p. 2/2). Exactly when Samuel Mather became Chaplain of Castle William, I do not know, but he certainly held that position from 1728 until early in 1732.[1]

Hence it is not surprising to find that in the 1733 Triennial — the first one printed after the bestowal of the degree — is this entry: "Samuel Mather Mr *Glascuæ*." And thus the degree remained,

[1] Mather employed the title in books published in 1728 and 1732: see pp. 223, 224, below. The New England Weekly Journal of Monday, January 31, 1732, said that "On Friday last the Old North Church in this Place made Choice of Mr. *Samuel Mather*, Chaplain at His Majesties Castle William, to succeed his Renowned Father in the Pastoral Office among them" (p. 2/2. A similar item appeared in the Boston News Letter of February 3, p. 2/2). And the Weekly Rehearsal of February 28 stated that "The Rev. Mr. *Samuel Mather*, lately Chaplain of Castle William has accepted the Choice to succeed his Father in the Pastoral Charge of the Old North Church" (p. 2/2. A similar item appeared in the Boston News Letter of March 2, p. 2/2). The date "January 28, 1730–31," given in Cotton Mather's Diary (ii. 818), should be January 28, 1731–32. Samuel Mather was ordained colleague pastor June 21st: see New England Weekly Journal, June 19, p. 2/1, June 26, p. 2/1; Weekly Rehearsal, June 26, p. 2/2.

It appears, then, that Samuel Mather was Chaplain from 1728 (or earlier) to 1732, when he resigned after being chosen colleague pastor with the Rev. Joshua Gee. His resignation of the chaplaincy clears up a matter which puzzled the editors of the Belcher Papers. On August 12, 1732, Governor Belcher wrote to his son Jonathan Belcher, Jr. (H.C. 1728):

M[r] Warren shall know your concern (and my readiness) to serve him. But Coll[ll] Tailer (before his death) had fix'd a successor to M[r] Mather, M[r] Moseley (whom you knew at College, being, I think, next class to yours) (Belcher Papers, i. 164).

The reference is to the Rev. Samuel Moseley (H.C. 1729), and the editors remark: "Apparently he had been designated by Lieutenant-Governor Tailer for some civil employment." Tailer died March 1, 1732, and evidently the allusion in Belcher's letter was to the chaplaincy of the Castle.

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except that in 1842 the year 1731 was added, down to and including the Quinquennial of 1895; but it is omitted from subsequent editions. Why was he deprived of the honor? In 1898 was published the "Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow, 1727–1897," edited by the late W. Innes Addison, and in this appears (p. 425) the following entry:

Mather, Benjamin, A.M. 1731

Son of Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., Boston, New England.

In December, 1898, Mr. P. J. Anderson of the University of Aberdeen inserted the following query in Scottish Notes and Queries (XII. 94):

1202. AMERICAN ABERDEEN GRADUATES. — Can Dr. Gammack, in continuation of his interesting notes in last month's *S. N. & Q.* . . . give any biographical or bibliographical details of the undermentioned graduates at once of Aberdeen and of three of the older American Universities?

HARVARD (1636–)

2. *Samuel Mather;* B.A. Harv., 1723; D.D., Marischal Coll., 1762; M.A., Glasgow, 1731. So in the Harvard *Quinquennial* of 1895,[1] but I do not find the name in the *Roll of Graduates of Glasgow*, 1898. Mr. W. Innes Addison, the compiler of the *Roll*, writes to me: — "As you will observe, *Benjamin Mather* was created M.A. in 1731. Have the Harvard folks not been confusing the two in some way?"

A correspondence[2] naturally ensued between Harvard and the University of Glasgow, and the following was received at the Quinquennial office from the University of Glasgow:

Excerpt from Minute of Meeting of Faculty held at the College of Glasgow on 20th April 1731. . . .

The Faculty being well informed of the great merit of the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Coleman and the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall, Pastors in Boston in New England, and his Excellency Jonathan Beliker, Esquire, Governor of his Majestie's colony of Massachusetts bay hav-

[1] This statement is slightly inaccurate, as Mather's Aberdeen degree is not in the 1895 Quinquennial: see p. 217, below.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. C. Chester Lane, the present editor of the Quinquennial, for information in regard to this correspondence and for a reference to Scottish Notes and Queries.

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ing in a letter to the Society for propagating Christian knowledge in Scotland likewise testified his knowledge of their reputation in that place for their great learning and exemplary piety, and desired that Diplomas for Doctor's degrees in Divinity might be sent to them from the University of Glasgow, The Faculty appoint that these Diplomas be drawn up and signed and transmitted with the first opportunity to Boston.

The Faculty at the same time considering the great friendship the late Reverend and learned Doctor Cotton Mather in Boston ever had for this University, and that his son Mr. Benjamin Mather continues the same, and is a young man of good reputation and learning the Faculty order a Diploma for the Degree of Master of Arts be transmitted at the same time to him.

This minute has a double interest. First, it throws an amusing light on the statement made in the Boston papers of 1731 to the effect that the "Gentlemen who have been so honoured . . . cannot but be gratyfied with the free and generous manner wherein their Degrees have been conferr'd, being what they never sought," and that the University of Glasgow looks "on Real Merit in Foreigners, as worthy of their Encouragement without any Application for it." For it now appears that application had been made by Governor Belcher on behalf of Colman and Sewall, though of course they themselves were ignorant of the fact. As those two gentlemen were present when the diplomas were produced, it is to be assumed that Governor Belcher kept to himself his share in the procuring of their degrees. Second, the minute once more proves, what the diploma itself sufficiently indicates, that the degree of A.M. was conferred on a son of Cotton Mather. Now Cotton Mather had five sons, no one of whom was named Benjamin, and all of whom except Samuel had died before 1725, leaving Samuel the only surviving son in 1731.[1] It is obvious, therefore, not that the "Harvard

[1] Cotton Mather was three times married: first, May 4, 1686, to Abigail Phillips; second, August 18, 1703, to Elizabeth (Clark) Hubbard; third, July 5, 1715, to Lydia (Lee) George. By his first wife there were, disregarding daughters, three sons: Joseph, born March 28, 1693, died April 1, 1693; Increase, born July 9, 1699, drowned at sea in September, 1724; and Samuel, born December 13, 1700, died February 7, 1701. By his second wife there were, also disregarding daughters, three sons: Samuel, born October 30, 1706, H.C. 1723, died June 27, 1785; Nathaniel, born May 16, 1709, died November 24, 1709; and Eleazar, born October 30, 1713, died November 17–18, 1713. There were no children by his third marriage. The above dates, often wrongly given, are taken (of course

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folks" had confused Samuel and Benjamin Mather, but that the Glasgow folks did not know the christian name of "the young man of good reputation and learning" on whom they conferred a degree in 1731. Yet when Samuel Mather published his Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, the dedication, "Dabam, *Bostonæ* Nov-Anglorum, Cal. *Januarii.* 1728, 9," was "Senatui Academiæ Glasguensis illustrissimo S.P. in Jesu Domino." And when he published his Essay concerning Gratitude, he thus, six weeks after learning of the bestowal of the degree, made his acknowledgments:

TO
The very Reverend and Honorable,
The PRINCIPAL;
With the other most Learned and worthy Members
Of the Senate of the University
in *GLASGOW*.

SIRS,

WITH the Deference and Submission, that is becoming, I here present unto You a short *Essay*; worthless indeed in it self, but valuable as it is an offering of Esteem and *Gratitude.*

I am certainly under the greatest Obligations to publish the Favors which You have extended over the wide *Atlantick.* They are numerous and great to my now glorified PARENT, and they have been transmitted down even unto me.

IT seems as if You accounted the Son of so great and good a Parent naturally entitled to Your Regards: For I cannot suppose that my own Merits, tho' You are pleased to mention them, so much as my Relation unto Him, have been considered in the Honor which You have lately conferred on me.

IT must needs be a great Satisfaction to any One, that the Polite and Learned Abroad will see and respect Him, when at Home his Merits are but transiently observed and but little regarded. And, if others take Comfort in this, It cannot be wondred at, if I should rejoyce in the Marks of Esteem and Affection which I have received from learned Foreigners.

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with the exception of the date of death of Samuel Mather of H.C. 1723) from Cotton Mather's Diary. In 1726 Samuel Mather called himself the "only Brother" of his sister, and in 1728 the "only Son of" his father: see pp. 220 note 2, 221, below.

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IN Particular, Most Illustrious Senate, I must acknowledge my self vastly indebted unto You for Your good Opinion and Your Smiles. — Happy should I account my self if I might further enjoy and be confirmed in them.

I wish that I could make You any better Return than what I now send You: But, as I cannot make any such at present, I must beg of You kindly to accept of this. As the Wealthy are gratified with a Dish of Fruits from their poor Neighbours, when they have much more rich ones and in much greater Plenty in their own Gardens; so, when You have several Tracts and Essays on this Head preferable to mine, I hope You will not nevertheless slight my mean, but grateful, Oblation.

WHEN I had written this Essay, I presently determined in my own Mind to send it to your Acceptance: And, if I had not Dedicated unto You, I should have written of *Gratitude*, and should at the same Time have been destitute of it.

I will only add, that I shall endeavor to deserve the Favor which You have shewn me; and that, with the best of Wishes to Your Selves, and the UNIVERSITY, of which You are the wise Governors and learned Instructors;

I am,

Very Reverend and
Honorable and Learned SIRS,
Your most Obliged and most Obedient
Humble Servant

Boston, Decemb. 15.
1731.

S. MATHER.

It has already been stated that the diploma itself is dated May 28, 1731, while the minute of the Glasgow Faculty is dated April 20. It is possible that during the more than five weeks that elapsed between the vote to confer the degree and the making out of the diploma the Glasgow authorities discovered their mistake as to Mather's christian name; or it may be that when the diploma was entered in College Book III, the Harvard authorities silently altered Benjamin to Samuel, since there was no possible doubt as to Mather's identity. But however that may have been, in future editions of the Quinquennial the degree can be restored to its rightful owner — Samuel Mather of the class of 1723.

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The Aberdeen Degree, 1762

In the 1895 Harvard Quinquennial is this entry:

> *Samuel Mather, A.M., also Yale, 1725, Glasgow, 1731; S.T.D. 1773; Fellow Am. Acad. *1785

In the 1900 Quinquennial the entry reads:

> Samuel Mather, A.M. also Yale 1725; S.T.D. 1773, Aberd. 1762; Fellow Am. Acad. *1785

The disappearance of the Glasgow degree, though surprising, has been explained as due to an error. Even more startling is the appearance for the first time, one hundred and thirty-eight years after its supposed bestowal, of the Aberdeen degree. If it was in fact conferred on our Samuel Mather, why was it not included in any previous edition of the catalogue? If it was given to some other Mather, who was that Mather? The degree was first heard of in 1898, when this entry appeared in Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis (II. 84):

> 1762, Mar. 17. —— Mather.
> Minister in N. America. Probably Samuel, son of Cotton; B.A., Harvard, 1723.

That Mr. P. J. Anderson, the editor of that work, was right in saying that this was "probably" our Samuel Mather, there can be little doubt. The only other possible Mather was the Rev. Moses Mather who graduated at Yale in 1739 and received the degree of S.T.D. from Princeton in 1791. In books published between 1761 and 1790, he called himself "Moses Mather, A.M. [or M.A.],"[1] and the degree has never been accorded him in any Yale catalogue.

But if Moses Mather never called himself D.D. before 1791, neither did Samuel Mather call himself D.D. previous to 1773, when he received that degree from Harvard.[2] Nor was he, between 1761 and 1773, known to his contemporaries as a Doctor of Divinity. President Stiles, who was present at the Harvard Commencement in 1773, always before that day spoke of "Mr. Mather;" and when

[1] See F. B. Dexter's Yale Biographies and Annals, i. 627–628.

[2] In books printed between 1761 and 1773, Mather used only the degree A.M. (or M.A.): see p. 225, below.

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on June 21, 1777, he drew up a "List of Doctors SS.T. in America living 1777," he records "Saml. Mather Harv." [1] — the alleged Aberdeen degree being conspicuous by its absence. In the Boston News Letter of December 16, 1762, is this item: "We hear from Halifax, that Dr. *Thomas Mather*, died there lately of a Fever: He was the Son of the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Mather*, of this Town: He was Surgeon of the Provincial Regiment in Nova-Scotia." [2] In the same paper of March 10, 1763, we read that "Last Lord's Day Evening a Charity-Sermon for the Relief of the Poor, was preached by the Rev. Mr. MATHER of this Town in *Faneuil-Hall*, being the first since it was Re-built. A handsome Collection was made for that charitable Use" (p. 3/2). At a meeting of the Overseers held February 16, 1764, "Mr Mather" was present.[3] On November 2, 1768, "At a Meeting of the Trustees to chuse a Gentleman to preach the Dudleian Lecture next May It appeared by their written Votes brought in that the Revd Mr Samuel Mather of Boston was unanimously chosen to preach said Lecture;" [4] and on May 16, 1769, "the Rev. Mr. SAMUEL MATHER of this Town preached a Sermon from 2 Thess. 11 & 12 Verses." [5] On July 21, 1773, the Corporation voted that "the degree of Doctor of Divinity be conferred on the Revd Mr Samuel Mather of Boston;" [6] and later on the same day "The Degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferr'd on the Rev'd SAMUEL LOCKE,

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[1] Literary Diary, ii. 169.

[2] P. 3/1. "A Poem On Occasion of the Death of Dr. Thomas Mather, . . . By a young Gentleman intimately acquainted with the late Doctor," was printed in the Boston Evening Post of January 24, 1763, p. 1/2. In a letter (owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society) to Thomas Hollis dated December 11, 1762, Samuel Mather mentions the death of his son. On July 15, 1761, the Corporation took the following action:

At the same Meeting The Rev Mr Sam Mather of Boston desird the Corporation to grant to his Son, who is in the Practice of Physic, a Degree of Master of Arts, the Corporacon in Consideration, That his sd Son had never been at any College & not being satifyed in his Qualifications in Classic Learning, or his fitness in any other Regard for the sd Degree, & there being no Time for his Examination (wch yet his Father consented he shou'd submitt to, if it was requir'd) for the sd Reasons the above Request was deny'd unanimously (College Book vii. 90–91).

[3] Overseers' Records, ii. 153.

[4] College Book vii. 184.

[5] Boston Gazette, May 15, 1769, p. 2/1. "The Subject was exposing the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, &c."

[6] College Book vii. 260.

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President of Harvard-College, — and on the Rev'd SAMUEL MATHER, of this Town." [1]

To Mr. Anderson I am indebted for the following information, conveyed in a letter dated January 26, 1916:

Our record of a degree of D.D., supposed to have been conferred on Samuel Mather, is found in two different registers:

I. The contemporary Minutes of Faculty:

Marischal College, 17th of March 1762

The Faculty being met and constituted . . . Professor Gerard acquainted the Society that application had been made for a Degree of Doctor in Divinity for Mr. Mather, minister in North America. The Society agree to grant Mr. Mather this degree upon his paying the ordinary dues.

II. The register of Degrees in Arts, Divinity, Laws and Medicine conferred by the Marischal University of Aberdeen:

	D.D.
1762	Rev. Mr. Mather
	Samuel Langdon

The juxtaposition of Mather and Langdon (B.A. Harvard 1740) is interesting. The entry in I suggests the possibility of a non-payment of "the ordinary dues," but I think that hardly consistent with the subsequent entry in II. Diplomas were undoubtedly supplied to graduates in the eighteenth century.

Langdon's diploma, dated "Decimo tertio Cal. Julias A. AE, C. M.DCCLXXII" — that is, June 19, 1762 — was received by him in the same year or early in 1763,[2] and was duly entered in College Book III. 150.

It is proverbially difficult to prove a negative, but what evidence we have points surely to the conclusion that if the Aberdeen degree was conferred on Samuel Mather, neither he nor his contemporaries knew about it. What is the explanation of this mystery? The only one that occurs to me is, either that the Aberdeen authorities

[1] Boston Gazette, July 26, 1773, p. 3/1.

[2] President Langdon's only honorary degree was that of D.D. from Aberdeen in 1762, and that he must have received his diploma at the time stated in the text is shown by the following title: "The Duty and Honor of A Minister of Christ. A Sermon Preached at Windham, near Casco-Bay, at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Peter Thacher Smith, To the Work of the Gospel Ministry, and the Pastoral Care of the Church there, September 22, 1762. By Samuel Langdon, D.D. Pastor of the First Church in Portsmouth. . . . Portsmouth, . . . 1763."

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never ascertained the full name of ——— Mather, and so a diploma was never made out; or that, if sent, the diploma was so vaguely addressed — "The Rev. Mr. Mather, North America" — that it never reached its destination. In view of the extracts sent by Mr. Anderson, the former of these suppositions does not seem likely; but the latter is perhaps strengthened by the facts that Mather's diploma is nowhere recorded in the College archives, as one might expect it to be, and that there are no contemporary allusions to it on this side of the water.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

From what little experience I have had in the difficult but fascinating field of American bibliography, I am convinced that in spite of the herculean labors of Sabin, Haven, and Evans, much remains to be accomplished, particularly in the line of anonymous and pseudonymous books. Hence, as previous lists of Samuel Mather's works appear to contain errors of both commission and omission, the present list is offered as a modest contribution to the subject.

"It seems," said the New England Courant of January 22, 1722, "the venomous *Itch* of *Scribbling* is Hereditary; a Disease transmitted from the *Father to the Son.*" This referred to an unsigned letter dated "Cambridge, January 11, 1721 [O. S.]" that had appeared in the Boston Gazette of January 15, 1722. Professor Kittredge thinks that the ascription of this letter to Samuel Mather is probably correct,[1] and if so it shows that the "itch of scribbling" had attacked him while yet a Junior Sophister at Harvard. A poem of his, "Filii, quum legisset, Gratulatio," was printed in 1726 in Cotton Mather's Manuductio ad Ministerium, pp. 148–149. In the same year his elegy in English on his sister was printed in Cotton Mather's sermon occasioned by her death, Matutina Pietas, pp. 45–46.[2] In 1728 was

[1] Publications of this Society, xiv. 285 and note.

[2] In the Boston News Letter of September 15, 1726, appeared this advertisement:

JUst *Published, An Essay to bespeak & engage* Early Piety; Occasioned by the Early Departure of *Mrs.* Elizabeth Cooper, *by her Father,* Dr. Mather, *with an Elegy by her only Brother. Sold by* John Phillips *on the South Side of the Town House* Boston (p. 2/2).

The exact title of the sermon is: "Pietas Matutina. One Essay more, To Bespeak and Engage Early Piety; Made On an Occasion taken from the Early Departure of Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper, At the Age of Twenty-two August 7 1726.

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published Cotton Mather's "The Comfortable Chambers, Opened and Visited, upon the Departure of that Aged and Faithful Servant of God, Mr. Peter Thacher, . . . Who made his Flight thither, on December 17. 1727." On p. [32] is an Advertisement which reads in part as follows:

Advertisement.

THE foregoing Sermon is the last *that was ever* Preached *by that Excellent Servant of GOD mentioned in the Beginning; . . . it is therefore desir'd, if there be any the least Mistake in the* Printing, *it may be ascrib'd to the only* Son of the Author, *who corrected it.*

S.M.

In the same year (1728) Samuel Mather's first book was published. Sabin attributes to him "The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch. A Sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, two days after the Death of the Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather" (1728), and "Two Discourses delivered October 25th, 1759, the day of Thanksgiving for the Reduction of Quebec" (1759); but the former of these was written by Benjamin Colman, and the latter by Jonathan Mayhew, each also being given by Sabin under its true author's name. Sabin also gives under Mather "The State of Religion in New England. Letters from S. Mather and other Eminent Divines, in 1742. *Glasgow.* 1743." The first edition of this work was published in 1742 and contains no letter by Mather.[1] The

By her Father. . . . Boston: Printed for J. Phillips, MDCCXXVI." Samuel Mather's elegy, printed on the last two pages of the pamphlet, consists of fourteen stanzas of four lines each, and is entitled: "Thoughts, Produced by the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper, In the Sorrowful Mind of her only Brother." The first stanza is as follows:

Say, Mournful Song, what gloomy grief
Invades my mind, untunes my Soul!
And try to bring me some relief,
To stay the winds, and waves controul.

For information about the pamphlet itself, which is rare, I am indebted to the officials of the Library of Congress.

[1] The title, somewhat misleadingly given by Sabin, is as follows:

The State of Religion in New-England, Since the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Arrival there. In a letter from a Gentleman in New-England to his Friend in Glasgow. To which is subjoined an Appendix, containing Attestations of the principal Facts in the Letter, By The Reverend Mr. Chauncy, . . . Mr. John Caldwell, Mr. John Barnard . . . Mr. Turell, Mr. Jonathan Parsons . . . and Dr. Benjamin Colman . . . Glasgow, . . . MDCCXLII.

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second edition, published in 1743,[1] contains a few lines from a letter written by Mather on August 4, 1742, and a letter written by him on August 3, 1742 (pp. 108–112). Mr. Charles Evans attributes to Mather "A Serious Letter to the Young People of Boston; . . . By Mathetees Archaios. . . . Boston: Printed and sold by Benjamin Edes & Sons, in Cornhill. M,DCC,LXXXIII."[2] Several books published anonymously or pseudonymously are included in the following list because they are assigned to Mather by bibliographers, though on what authority I do not know. On the other hand, one pamphlet in the list has never before been attributed to Mather; and one book, hitherto vaguely ascribed to him, is now proved to have been written by him.[3]

[1] The only copy I have seen of the second edition lacks the title-page. The card catalogue of the Boston Public Library gives 1742 as the date of this edition, but doubtless Sabin is correct in stating that it was published in 1743.

[2] It was advertised as "This Day Published" in the Boston Evening Post of February 8, 1783, p. 3/2, and in the Boston Gazette of February 10, p. 3/2; and as "Just Published" in the Boston Gazette of February 17, p. 1/3, March 3, Supplement, p. 2/3, March 17, Supplement, p. 2/2, and in the Independent Chronicle of February 20, p. 1/2. On March 13, 1783, the Rev. John Eliot wrote: "P. S. *Matheetes Archaios* is too despicable to have anything said about it" (Belknap Papers, iii. 250). Mr. Evans writes me that he cannot recall his authority for the attribution to Mather. Professor Dexter makes the suggestion, confirmed by Mr. Evans, that this was the Brinley Catalogue, where an entry reads: "Serious Letter to the Young People of Boston, . . to guard them against Error, etc. By Matheetes Archaios [S. Mather?] *Boston*, 1783" (no. 6397, iv. 49). Mr. Dexter adds: "We bought this volume at the Brinley sale, and the title-page has 'S. Mather?' written in it in ink, in a not-modern hand. In cataloguing this copy, some thirty years ago, I considered this attribution; but decided that it was not very probable." As the volume came from the library of the Rev. Dr. Joseph McKean, perhaps the query is in his hand.

[3] The funeral discourses which were customarily delivered at that time on the death of a prominent person sometimes contain valuable information. That no funeral discourse or sermon was preached after Mather's death was due to his own desire. He died June 27 and was buried June 30, 1785: see the Massachusetts Centinel of June 29, p. 3/2; and the Independent Chronicle of June 30, p. 3/2, which prints extracts from his will. In the Boston Magazine for June we read:

> 30. On Monday morning last, departed this life, and entered into rest, Doctor SAMUEL MATHER, of this town, in the 79th year of his age. He left positive orders that his interment should be private, and without any ceremony: he has also signified his desire, that he may not have any funeral encomiums from any quarter. On Thursday he was interred, without the least ceremony, at 5 minutes past sun setting, followed by six persons, without pall bearers, in conformity to his will, and laid in the family tomb (ii. 237).

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List of Samuel Mather's Works

1728 The Departure and Character of Elijah Considered and Improved. A Sermon After the Decease of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. F.R.S. And Minister of the North Church, Who expired Feb. 13. 1727,8. In the Sixty Sixth Year of his Age. By Samuel Mather, M.A. And Chaplain at Castle William. . . . Boston, . . . 1728.

1729 The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S. . . . By Samuel Mather, M.A. . . . Boston, . . . MDCCXXIX.[1]

1730 A Letter to Doctor Zabdiel Boylston; Occasion'd by a late Dissertation concerning Inoculation. Printed at Boston. . . . Boston: . . . M. DCC. XXX.[2]

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[1] The Harvard College Library owns an interesting copy of a book entitled:

An Abridgment of the Life Of the late Reverend and Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, of Boston in New-England. Taken from the Account of him published by his Son, the Reverend Mr. Samuel Mather. . . . By David Jennings. Recommended by I. Watts, D.D. . . . London: . . . 1744.

This is a presentation copy from Watts to Mather and from Mather to the College, and a note on the College book-plate says that "This book belonged to the Library before the fire Jan. 24. 1764." Watts's Recommendation is dated "Newington *near* London, Aug. 13. 1743;" and in the Preface Mr. Jennings says that from Samuel Mather "*I have received a very civil and obliging Letter, with full Leave and Liberty to make such an Abridgment of his Book as is here attempted. I hope he will not be displeased with my prefixing his* License *to this Work, without which I should not have undertaken it.*" Then follows Mather's letter.

[2] Not before attributed to Mather. It is a reply to Dr. William Douglass's "A Dissertation concerning Inoculation of the Small-Pox. . . . Boston, N.E. . . . M.DCC.XXX." My authority for the attribution of the Letter to Mather is a note on the fly-leaf of a volume owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society containing various pamphlets, among them Douglass's Dissertation and the Letter. This note reads:

Dissertation on Inoculation.
By Dr. Duglas.
Remarks on it by Sa^{m}. Mather

This note may or may not be correct, but is given for what it is worth. As Mather appears to have written on inoculation in 1722, he might well have returned to the subject in 1730: see p. 220, above. Mather's interest in the subject is attested by a copy, now in the Boston Athenaeum, of Dr. James Jurin's "An Account Of the Success of Inoculating the Small Pox in Great Britain. . . . The Second Edition. London: . . . 1724." This has marginal notes apparently in the hand of Mather, and on the title-page are written in ink these inscriptions: "Sam. Mathers 1727" and "The Gift of the Author."

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1732 An Essay concerning Gratitude. Written by Samuel Mather, M.A. And Chaplain to His Majesty's Castle William. . . . Boston: N.E. Printed for T. Hancock, M, DCC, XXXII.[1]

1733 Vita B. Augusti Hermanni Franckii, . . . Revisa, et, Cura, Samuelis Mather, A.M. et Ecclesiæ Secundæ apud Bostonum Nov-Anglorum Præpositi, Cum Dedicatione ejus, Edita. Bostoni, Nov-Anglorum, MDCCXXXIII. . . .

1738 An Apology For the Liberties of the Church in New England: . . . By Samuel Mather, M.A. Pastor of a Church in Boston, New England. . . . Boston: . . . 1738.

1738 The Fall of the Mighty lamented. A Funeral Discourse upon the Death of Her most Excellent Majesty Wilhelmina Dorothea Carolina, Queen-Consort to his Majesty of Great-Britain, France and Ireland: Preach'd on March 23d 1737,8, . . . By Samuel Mather, M.A. Pastor of a Church in Boston. . . . Boston, . . . 1738.

1739 War is lawful, and Arms are to be proved. A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, on June 4. 1739. . . . By Samuel Mather, M.A. . . . Boston: . . . 1739.

1740 The Faithful Man abounding with Blessings. A Funeral discourse Upon the Death of the Honourable Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; . . . Who departed this Life on December 3. 1739. . . . By Samuel Mather, A.M. . . . Boston: . . . MDCCXL.

1751 A Funeral Discourse preached On the Occasion of the Death of The High, Puissant and most Illustrious Prince Frederick Lewis, . . . On May 22d. 1751. At Boston, New-England. By Samuel Mather, A.M. Pastor of a Church in Boston: . . . Boston: . . . 1751.

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[1] The dedication was perhaps an afterthought, due to the receipt of the diploma, for this advertisement appeared on October 18, 1731:

SUbscriptions towards Printing an Essay concerning GRATITUDE, *by Mr.* Samuel Mather, *are taken in by* Thomas Hancock, *Bookseller* (Weekly Rehearsal, p.2/2).

Though bearing the date 1732 on the title-page, this Essay was published late in 1731, as appears from an advertisement on December 27, 1731:

THIS may inform the Gentlemen who Subscribed to Mr. Samuel Mather's *Essay concerning* GRATITUDE, *that the Books are now ready to be delivered to their Order.*

N.B. *Some Books will remain to be Sold after the Subscribers are supply'd, by* Tho. Hancock (Weekly Rehearsal, p. 2/2).

It is perhaps worth while to call attention to this early instance of the practice, now so common among publishers, of placing the following year on the title-pages of books issued in the closing weeks or months of a year.

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1753 The Walk of the Upright, with its Comfort. A Funeral Discourse After the Decease of the Reverend Mr. William Welsted, Who died April 29th. And Mr. Ellis Gray, Who died on January 7th preceeding it. Colleague Pastors of a Church in Boston. Preached To their People in the New Brick Meeting-House, On May 6. 1753. By Samuel Mather, A.M. . . . Boston, . . . 1753.

1760 A Dissertation Concerning the most venerable Name of Jehovah. By Samuel Mather, M.A. . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC,LX.

1762 Of the Pastoral Care: A Sermon preached to the Reverend Ministers of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England at their Annual Convention in Boston, On May 27. 1762. . . . By Samuel Mather, M.A. . . . Boston, . . . 1762.

1766 The Lord's Prayer: or, A New Attempt to recover the right Version, and genuine Meaning, of that Prayer. By Samuel Mather, A.M. . . . Boston: . . . MDCCLXVI.

1768 A Modest Account concerning the Salutations and Kissings In ancient Times: In a Letter to a Friend, Requesting the same: Wherein Mr. Sandeman's Attempt, to revive the holy and charitable kiss, and the Love Feasts, is considered: By Constant Rock-man, M.A. . . . Boston: N.E. Printed by Kneeland and Adams, for Nicholas Bowes, in Corn-Hill. MDCCLXVIII.[1]

[1] Haven, Sabin, and Evans enter the book under "Rock-man, Constant," without attempting to identify the author. They also state that the date on the title-page is misprinted MDCCLVIII. In the only copies I have seen the date is correctly given. In 1885 the late William Cushing wrote in his Initials and Pseudonyms:

Rock-man, Constant, M.A. *Rev. Nicholas Bowes.* Modest account concerning the salutations and kissings in ancient times. . . . B. 1768 (p. 252).

Bowes, Rev. Nicholas, M.A., — 1755. *Constant Rock-man.* An American Cong. minister; Harv. Univ., 1725; pastor at Bedford, Mass. (p. 361).

The Rev. Nicholas Bowes, son of Nicholas and Dorcas (Champney) Bowes, was born in Boston, November 4, 1706; married Lucy Hancock of Lexington; and died in 1755. Obviously, therefore, he could not have been the author of a book written in 1768. Mr. Cushing was perhaps led astray by two entries in pencil on the title-page of a copy of the Modest Account owned by Harvard College. One reads: "Was not this from & the answer to it written by Nicholas Bowes, for whom they were published?" The other reads: "See the Kiss of Charity." This refers to a pamphlet (usually attributed to Shippie Townsend) advertised as "This Day Published" in the Boston Gazette of July 11, 1768, p. 1/3, and entitled:

An Inquiry Whether the Scriptures enjoin the Kiss of Charity, as the Duty of the Disciples of Christ, in their Church-Fellowship in all Ages. — Or, only allowed it to the first Disciples, in Consequence of the Customs that then pre-

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1773 An Attempt to Shew, That America must be Known to the Ancients; . . . By an American Englishman. Pastor of a Church in Boston, New-England. . . . Boston . . . MDCCLXXIII.[1]

1773 Christ sent to heal the Broken Hearted. A Sermon, Preached at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, On October, 21st. 1773. When Levi Ames, . . . Was present to hear the Discourse: By Samuel Mather, D.D. Pastor of a Church in Boston, . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

1773 The Sacred Minister: A new Poem, In Five Parts; . . . By Aurelius Prudentius, Americanus. . . . Boston: . . . MDCCLXXIII.

1782 All Men will not be saved forever: or, an Attempt to prove, That this is a Scriptural Doctrine; and To give a sufficient Answer

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vailed. Occasioned by a Letter lately published by Constant Rockman, M.A. Intitled, "a Modest Account concerning the Salutations and Kissings in ancient Times," &c. Containing some Remarks thereupon. . . . Boston: New-England. Printed by Kneeland and Adams, for Nicholas Bowes, opposite the Old Brick Meeting-House, in Corn-Hill. MDCCLXVIII.

Nicholas Bowes the bookseller was presumably that son of the Rev. Nicholas Bowes who was born October 20, 1737. The bookseller married Rebecca Wendell November 26, 1767, and died in Boston in April, 1790. (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 40, xxx. 48; Bedford Vital Records, p. 13; Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 494; Massachusetts Centinel, April 10, 1790, p. 3/1; Suffolk Probate Files, No. 19481. The accounts of the Bowes family in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 82, and in the Heraldic Journal, i. 109, contain inaccuracies.) Mr. Cushing confused the father with the son.

The Modest Account was advertised as "This Day Published" in the Boston Gazette of May 23, 1768, p. 3/1. In his Annals of the American Pulpit (1857, i. 373), Sprague vaguely enters in his list of Mather's works: "A modest account of the salutations in ancient times (anonymous,) 1768." A copy owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society bears the signature "Ezra Stiles Junij 25. 1768;" and under the name of Rock-man is written, in Stiles's hand, "The Reverend Samuel Mather of Boston." That this ascription is correct is proved by a letter (owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society) written to Thomas Hollis on May 17, 1768, in which Mather himself says:

I beg leave now to put into your Hands [*Accipe, sed Facilis*] *a Letter* obtained from me thro' Importunity from Dr Chauncey, my Friend and Neighbour, and some others: which I have publish'd under a fictitious Name, ['*Rockman* versus *Sandeman*'] lest some Offence might be given by my writing on such a Subject; tho', I think, there is not any Thing justly exceptionable in it.

This letter was received in October by Hollis, who made this endorsement: "A modest account concerning the Salutations & Kissings in ancient times; in a Letter to a Friend, . . . By Constant Rockman, M.A. Boston, in N.E. 1768, in oct."

[1] Some copies of this pamphlet lack the bastard-title. The recto of this reads: "America Known to the Ancients." On the verso is printed a letter dated "Bost. N.E. Dec. 31. 1772," and signed "S.MATHER."

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to the Publisher of Extracts in Favor of the Salvation of all Men. By Samuel Mather, D.D. . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC, LXXXII.[1]

1783 All Men will not be saved forever: . . . By Samuel Mather, D.D. . . . The Second Edition. . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC, LXXXIII.

1783 To the Author of a Letter to Doctor Mather. By one of the Readers. . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC,LXXXIII.[2]

1783 The Dying Legacy of an Aged Minister of the Everlasting Gospel, to the United States of North-America. . . . Boston: . . . M,DCC,LXXXIII.[3]

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[1] This was in reply to a pamphlet entitled:

Salvation for all Men, illustrated and vindicated as A Scripture Doctrine, in Numerous Extracts from a Variety of Pious and Learned Men, who have purposely writ upon the Subject. Together with their Answer to the Objections urged against it. By One who wishes well to all Mankind. . . . Boston: . . . 1782.

The authorship of this pamphlet, usually attributed either to the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy (H.C. 1721) or to the Rev. Dr. John Clarke (H.C. 1774), raises an intricate problem which will be discussed on another occasion.

[2] The pamphlet "Salvation for All Men," advertised as "*Just Published*" in the Boston Gazette of September 2, 1782 (p. 4/2), caused a heated controversy. Mather's "All Men will not be saved forever" was advertised in the same paper of Monday, November 4, as "*Now in the Press, and on* Thursday *next will be Published*" (p. 3/2). The same paper of November 25 (p. 3/2) announced for sale "A Letter to Dr. Mather. Occasioned by his disingenuous Reflexions upon a certain Pamphlet, entitled, Salvation for All Men," presumably written by the Rev. Dr. John Clarke. In the Independent Chronicle of January 9, 1783, was advertised as "This Day published, And to be sold at EDES's Printing-Office, in Corn-hill (price 4*d*.) A LETTER, to the Author of a Letter to Dr. Mather" (p. 2/2). This last is the pamphlet mentioned in the text, where it is inserted because usually ascribed to Mather; but I doubt very much whether it was written by him.

[3] In 1792 began to be printed (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 256) an article headed "*The following Account of the first settlement of* BOSTON, *was written in the year* 1784, *by the late Dr.* SAMUEL MATHER." At that time the Collections of the Historical Society were printed serially, and this article happened to begin on the last page of a serial. At the bottom of the page is the catchword "But," yet no more was ever printed. The reason is thus stated in the next serial at the bottom of p. 257:

☞ *Doctor* Mather's *account of the first settlement of Boston, which was continued from our last sheet has been mislaid; and as another copy cannot be obtained, we are obliged to leave it incomplete.*

The Boston Public Library owns a broadside dated "*Worcester, January 12th*, 1789," which reads in part as follows:

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Manuscript sermons or letters by Mather are owned by the American Antiquarian Society,[1] the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Public Library, and perhaps by other libraries.

Proposal For Printing by Subscription, A Disquisition on the Most Holy Deity. In which it is endeavoured to communicate the Scriptural Doctrine concerning God, And his Manifestation to his Intelligent Creatures. By the late Samuel Mather, D.D. Pastor of a Church in Boston. Contents. The Preface. The Prologue. Chap. I. . . . Chap. XI. . . . [*The manuscript of this valuable Essay was found, ready prepared for the Press, among the papers of the late author, after his death, and is now proposed to be printed at the request of a number of the clergy, and others, in this State, who have perused it.*] Conditions of Publication. . . . V. The work to be put to Press as soon as 500 Copies are subscribed for . . . Subscriptions are received by I. Thomas, the intended Publisher, at his Bookstore in Worcester; . . .

It is not unlikely that this was the work (now owned by the American Antiquarian Society) which, as we learn from some amusing letters owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mather had endeavored, through the joint efforts of Thomas Hollis, the Rev. Nathaniel Lardner, and Ralph Griffiths (publisher of the Monthly Review), to get published in London a quarter of a century earlier. Writing to Hollis on December 11, 1762, Mather said:

Within this current Year I have been busily emploied in writing some Disquisitions on very important and interesting Subjects. One of These I beg to enclose to you and inscribe to your Name, if it be thôt worthy to be communicated to the Public. As I am diffident of my own Composures, I commonly offer them to select Friends to read, before I think of sending them abroad. Accordingly I have desired the learned Dr *Lardner* in *Hoxton* Square *London* to give it an attentive Reading; and, if he approve of it and will signifie by a few Prefatory Lines, that it deserves Consideration, I am willing, that it should be made public: And, since you kindly signified to me, that Mr *Griffiths* in the *Strand* would print for me; I desire, that you would offer it, with my Compliments, unto Him. I hope, that your Modesty will not make You unwilling to receive my Dedication; especially since my Gratitude to your excellent great Uncle, as well Respect to yourself, is intended in it.

This appeal was not relished by Hollis, who replied on May 19, 1763:

Inclosed is a parcel from Dr Lardner. It contains the Mss which you desired me to lay before him, and a letter.

I likewise forward to You the dedication to that Mss. Dedications I never have accepted nor ever will accept, and I am utterly below them. I return you, however, my humble thanks for the honor You intended me, as well as for two curious publications.

What Griffiths said to me was, not "*that he would print for you,*" but "that the Reviewers should take notice of your dissertation in the Review, and would, probably, do the same by any other which You might send them." And yet no notice was taken of it in the Review. As matters of this kind are out of my way, I beg the favor of You to dispense me from them in the future.

[1] Proceedings, April, 1903, xv. 296–298.

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Mr. DAVIS read an account of a sojourn in the South in 1857 and 1858, giving a description of a trip down the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers as far as Memphis, and then a land journey to the northeastern part of the State of Mississippi, where he was engaged as a surveyor in the construction of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Among other incidents, he mentioned having been present at a slave auction in Lexington, Kentucky.

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MARCH MEETING, 1916

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 March, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on the third instant, of FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, a Resident Member.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE spoke as follows:

I am not in general very well disposed to extensive obituaries or memorial meetings. But when a member of the Society who has been with us from the very outset, and who has done so much for us all as Mr. Gay has done, not only in making contributions to our publications and our funds but in lending his documents to those of us who were engaged in investigations, and in furnishing us with information, of which he had a large store always at his command, — when such a man is taken away from us, who has been so intimately connected with all our activities, it is impossible to let his death pass without a word.

I shall not advert to what may be styled Mr. Gay's public connection with the Society, because I am sure that Mr. Edes will recall to our memory some of the facts in that regard. I should, however, like to say a word about Mr. Gay as a private scholar and as the helper of other scholars.

I shall never forget what he said to me with an air of comical half exasperation, half amusement, about six weeks before he died. I had been commenting on an extremely rare volume which he had lent me and had let me keep for some time. It was a work relating to a distinct figure in English literature, Davenant, — a book of a highly

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significant character, significant particularly of the manners and customs of literary men in Davenant's time. It was a tiny thing which he had brought to our meeting in the pocket of his coat, and which I carried away in a similar repository. When I gave it back to him he looked at it with affection, and said, "Unfortunately, everybody knows me as a collector, and that condemns me for good; but what I really care for is the things that books have inside of them!" and he chuckled in his own inimitable way.

It was a casual and unimportant remark, perhaps, but it reminds me of something that I think it is well enough to put on record orally at a meeting like this, — the fact that Mr. Gay, though known to the community chiefly as a collector, was known to his friends and intimates as an enthusiastic student, not only of history, but of all literature. His acquaintance with the highways and the byroads of English literature was quite surprising, and it was of a very catholic kind. He read anything which appealed to him; and it was interesting to observe what it was that did appeal to him. It was not merely the odd, the curious: it was the human element in the records that great and little writers have left behind them that he liked to turn over in his mind and to chat about with his associates.

However, the particular matter which concerns this Society more is that generous and kindly feeling which led Mr. Gay to be so liberal with his collections, and that even larger generosity which prompted him to contribute information from his own store of special knowledge whenever the occasion offered itself. Instances of that sort have come to my attention again and again, and more than once, in my own case, the facts contributed have been of vital importance to the matter in hand, and of a kind that I could not possibly have obtained from any other source.

My last memory of Mr. Gay concerns an interview with him at my house. It was a most characteristic incident. He wished to see me — so I was told — about a book, and in he came, tenderly nursing an enormous parcel. "Here," said he, "I have something that I should like to have you look at, if you have time, in order to determine whether it would be worth while for the College Library to accept it. It is curious, but I doubt if it is of any real importance."

I opened the parcel, and found, to my amazement and delight, that it contained a large lot of the papers of Bishop Percy relating to early

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English ballads and romances. They came at a most opportune moment, for I was at work just then upon that very subject, and, in fact, had recently been examining the catalogue of the Bishop's manuscripts, dispersed years ago, and wondering what had become of certain lots that our library, which bought largely at the sale, had failed to secure. Here they were, a recent acquisition of Mr. Gay's, in beautiful order and exquisitely bound. Of course I assured him that the library would give them the heartiest welcome, and added that their arrival at this juncture was a thing of much moment to me personally. He was fairly radiant at this news. He knew well enough that the library would be glad to have the documents. What pleased him beyond words was to learn that they would be of immediate utility to somebody who understood their peculiar value and really needed them.

As I have said, the whole incident was most characteristic. Mr. Gay was well aware that material intelligently collected will always find its student — will be of use to somebody sooner or later. But he was above all things a man with human interests; and it always gratified him immensely when anything that he had himself collected turned out, at a particular moment of which he was personally cognizant, to be of particular use to a friend.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES said:

I do not rise to add any extended remarks to what Professor Kittredge has said, but I do want to tell the Society what a steadfast friend we have always had in Mr. Gay. He was elected to membership by the incorporators almost immediately after their organization; and from that time until his sickness in February he was among the most earnest and interested and generous of our members.

The honor of the treasurership of the Society has been mine from the beginning, and I wish to bear testimony at this time to the fact that nothing has been undertaken by the Society which called either for service or for money in which Mr. Gay has not joined in the most whole-souled manner. His gifts have always been generous, and in many cases exceeded those of any other member.

But of far greater value than his gifts of money was the unflagging interest which he had in the Society and in all its undertakings. He

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had the greatest pride in our publications and we are indebted to him for many of the most beautiful plates which adorn the various volumes.

It was always a pleasure to me to greet him at my office; he often came in late in the afternoon, after business hours, to have a chat or a conference about some historical matter in which he was interested at the time; and it generally had a bearing upon the work of our Society. I shall miss his genial presence.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS remarked on the deep interest in the Society's publications taken by Mr. Gay, of his regularly receiving the proofs, and of his sending to the Editor a note, sometimes a book, and occasionally even a manuscript, that might be used in preparing a footnote to elucidate or add to something in the text.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL spoke as follows:

I have brought for your inspection to-day a copy, interesting not only for its imprint but also for its association, of "A Catalogue of Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. . . . Printed by B. Franklin, 1741." Inscriptions on the fly-leaf show that it was purchased by George Livermore in London from William Pickering in June, 1845, then in paper covers. It was bound for him by Hayday. It was presented by Mr. Livermore to Edward Everett, January 17, 1859, and has Mr. Everett's book-plate. From him it came into the possession of his son, Dr. William Everett, and was purchased by me at the sale of Dr. Everett's books after the fire in his library, evidence of which is shown on the cover.

The book has 56 pages and the titles are arranged by sizes. As would be expected, the books are upon a variety of subjects, historical, literary, and scientific. On the last page is "A short Account of the Library," which states that it was formed in 1731 by fifty persons, "each obliging himself to pay 40*s*. for purchasing the first Parcel of Books, and 10*s*. *per annum* to defray Charges and encrease the Library." At the time of this publication, the number of members had increased to upwards of seventy. One rule says: "Any Member may borrow a Book for 2, 3, or 4 Weeks, leaving his Note for double Value, and paying a small Penalty if 't is not return'd at the

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Time agreed." Non-subscribers could borrow books by "leaving in the Hands of the Librarian, as a Pledge, a Sum of Money proportion'd to the Value of the Book borrow'd, and paying a small Acknowledgement for the Reading." The Library was to be "open every Saturday Afternoon from 4 a Clock 'til 8." An air pump, a microscope, and other valuable instruments had been presented by the Hon. John Penn, a lot of land for a building by the Hon. Thomas Penn, Proprietors of the Province, and the sum of 34 pounds sterling (to be laid out in books) from Dr. Sydserfe, late of Antigua. At the end is a note, saying, "*A Copy of the Articles or Constitutions is left in the Library, for the Perusal of all that desire to be more fully informed.*" [1]

In answer to my inquiry, the present Librarian, Mr. George Maurice Abbot, writes:

I would say that from a careful examination of our minutes and Catalogues, it appears to me that the one bearing date 1741, might really be called the first printed Catalogue. Although the minutes at various dates before 1736 direct Mr. Franklin should print a new one, my impression is that these were nothing but single sheets, certainly not books. On the 13th of December, 1736, it was ordered that B. Franklin print a number of copies of the Company's Constitution.

June 9, 1740, B. Franklin was ordered to print a complete Catalogue. April 13, 1741, it was agreed that two hundred catalogues should be printed, which should include those formerly printed. This is the work of which you have a copy.

Mr. Abbot also had the kindness to send to me a copy of A Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia, compiled by him and printed by the Company in 1913.

Mr. CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM exhibited a photostat of a manuscript list of duplicate books bought from the Harvard College Library in 1682 by Cotton Mather. Of ninety-six titles, eighty-one were theological and the remainder comprised history, philosophy, and philology. This purchase was probably the beginning of Mather's library, as he was then but nineteen years old.

[1] There is a copy of this Catalogue in the Boston Athenæum.

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Burgess Photograph

Engraved for The Outlook
from an original
Massachusetts

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of Dighton Rock, 1868

Society of Massachusetts
the possession of the
Historical Society

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following paper, written by Professor Edmund Burke Delabarre of Brown University:

EARLY INTEREST IN DIGHTON ROCK

Among the other curiosities of New England, one is that of a rock, on a perpendicular side whereof, by a river which at high tide covers part of it, there are engraved, no man alive knows how or when, lines filled with strange characters; which would suggest as odd thoughts about them that were here before us, as there are odd shapes in that elaborate monument. Probably no one now alive, uninfluenced by the quaint phraseology of the past, would choose exactly these words in which to describe the Dighton Writing Rock and our knowledge of it. Yet the statement is true to-day, though far from a complete statement of our knowledge. Its particular interest is that, being still though incompletely true, it is, with two unimportant omissions, the first known published description of the so-called Dighton Rock.

This does not imply that we know no more about the rock than was known in Cotton Mather's time. On the contrary, archæological opinion is agreed as to its general nature and origin.[1] Yet it still remains true that as to detail, no man knows just how or when the lines were cut, or what they mean; and that they still suggest odd speculations, as they did two hundred years ago and have been doing abundantly in all the intervening years.

No single object of antiquarian interest in America has been so much discussed, probably, as Dighton Rock. Interest in it is still keen, as is evidenced by the fact that no year goes by without some

[1] David I. Bushnell, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in a letter of October 21, 1915, to the writer of this paper, expresses well the opinion that he shares with all recent authorities, as follows:

There is of course absolutely no reason to attribute the origin of the pictographs appearing on the Rock to any but the North American Indian, as he was known to the colonists. The many and varied theories which have from time to time been presented, some regarding it as of Norse origin, appear to be without the slightest foundation or reason. The figures represented on the Rock do not differ essentially from those found over a wide extent of territory extending to the Ohio river and beyond. Therefore to select this one example as being distinctly of different origin is without justification.

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published reference to it. Just how important it has been considered is impressively shown by examination of a chronological bibliography listing not only papers specifically on this subject alone, but also references to it in papers or books on other subjects, and other known evidences of interest in it. In compiling such a bibliography I have found thus far 52 items belonging to 26 years out of the 120 between 1680 and 1799; 32 items in 18 years of the 37 between 1800 and 1836; 148 items in 35 years of the next 35, to 1871; and 197 items in 43 years of the 45 since 1871, — more than 400 items in all. It is probable that further search will largely increase this list, and fill in many of the few missing years. Some of the items, of course, are trivial; but many of them are due to authorities of the highest eminence in their time. Particularly during the period when the "Phœnician Theory" of the origin of the rock was under discussion, about 1800, and again after the "Norse Theory" had been announced, in 1837, no one of repute in such matters in this or foreign countries failed to give expression to his opinion. Nearly twenty first-hand copies of the inscription, many of them exceedingly different from the others, exist in printed form, and fully as many more have been made but never published; and some twenty different theories have been advanced to account for its origin.

In view of all this interest and discussion, it is a little surprising to realize that the whole history of the subject needs to be re-written. No one has yet assembled all the copies of the inscription, or shown what is actually "engraved" on the rock. The only photograph known to me which shows at all clearly how the rock appears to an actual observer, without emphasis or interpretation of any of its features, is given as a frontispiece to this paper, and has never been published.[1] It is interesting to note that in this photograph careful scrutiny, aided by an active imagination, can easily discover

[1] Plate I. This photograph, measuring 9 by 13 inches, was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by George C. Burgess of Dighton, December 24, 1868. A stereoscopic photograph, taken by Augustine H. Folsom, a photographer of Roxbury and Boston, was also presented to the Society by Burgess on February 10, 1869. Eight other photographs, taken at various times between 1853 and 1913, are known to the writer of this paper. In every case the supposed lines were first chalked over on the rock, in order to render them more distinct. But the two Burgess photographs were evidently taken, either without any preliminary chalking, or at most with the faintest trace of it, — probably with none at all.

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and correlate all the varying copies that have been made. What the unknown inscribers actually intended, beyond what this photograph reveals, is now and may always remain a matter of speculation alone. But those who have made varying copies have not thought that they were indulging in speculation. It seems to have been characteristic of each that he believed that he drew only what he was sure was there, or what his companions all agreed on; and represented sometimes by dotted or by fainter lines whatever he thought was doubtful. Nevertheless they disagree radically. It follows that we have here an exceedingly interesting problem in the psychology of perception, as well as another in the psychology and art of copying. Moreover, however the figures were depicted, there has been an astonishing variety of interpretations as to what they mean. They present, therefore, another attractive problem concerning scientific methods of reliable interpretation, and psychological reasons for both right and wrong interpretations. Into these matters it is not the purpose of this paper to enter. It remains further true, however, that no one has yet brought together all the available historical facts concerning the rock and discussions of it; and not only have important omissions been made in this regard, but a considerable number of early occurring errors have been perpetuated without correction. The whole subject, then, needs to be surveyed anew, and to receive its first fully comprehensive presentation. The fulfilment of this task would require much more space than the present occasion affords. Enough neglected material and uncorrected error exist to justify giving separate consideration to the earliest studies and facts that have a bearing on the history of Dighton Rock, ending with the year 1730.

The name itself by which the rock is commonly known is a partial misrepresentation. Once or twice only in all its history it has been correctly called the Assonet Rock, or *Monumentum Assonetense*. For fifty years after the settlement of neighboring parts, the land on which it stands remained in the possession of the Indians. Since then, the shifting lines of townships have made it successively a part of Taunton, of Dighton, and of Berkley. Through all these changes, however, the name Assonet Neck persisted, and it is on Assonet Neck that the rock is situated, just across the Taunton River from the present village of Dighton.

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UNCERTAINTY AS TO DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

It must have been very soon after the settlement at "Cohannet alias Taunton," in 1637, that the rock was first seen by white men. But whether it then had artificial markings on its surface we do not know. There is only one fact, and that not a conclusive one, that could be regarded as evidence that it had. This is the unquestionable faintness and uncertainty of the marks at nearly the earliest dates at which we have knowledge of it. How clear it appeared to Danforth in 1680 we do not know. If the lower part of Mather's 1712 version was genuinely copied from the rock, the exceeding badness of the copy cannot be explained by unskilled draughtsmanship alone, and must indicate that the inscription was then practically as faint as it is to-day. But this part of Mather's drawing cannot be relied on as actually derived from the rock. In 1730, however, Greenwood found the indentures "not very considerable," and had difficulty in determining what were real indentures. His whole description, given in full later in this paper, makes the inference almost unavoidable that the wear and tear of the last two hundred years have scarcely at all increased the difficulty of deciphering the characters, except perhaps on the lowest part of the face. It would seem, then, that we must conclude either that the inscription is very ancient, as has so often been believed, or that its makers cut the lines so thinly that only slight weathering was needed to render most of them obscure. More than one authority on Indian petroglyphs describes cuttings that were exceedingly shallow.[1] The dimness of the artifi-

[1] See, for example, E. G. Squier, in National Intelligencer, March 27, 1849, p. 2/1–3, extracted from the British Ethnological Journal, December, 1848; Garrick Mallery, Picture-Writing of the American Indians, 10th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1888–9, pp. 88 ff. The following is an almost exact quotation from Mallery, describing the ledges at the Pipestone quarry in Minnesota but adapted so that it becomes possibly applicable to the Assonet rock: "It was formerly a custom for each Indian who came to the vicinity to secure game or fish, to transcribe his totem upon the rock. This was done by pecking out the stone with some sharp pointed instrument or by the use of pieces of quartzite. The figures are of different sizes and dates. The excavation of the surface is often very slight, in many cases not exceeding $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch, and sometimes only enough to leave a mere tracing of the designed form. The hardness of the rock was a barrier to deep sculpturing with the imperfect tools of the aborigines; but the tenacity with which it retains impressions will warrant the assignment of any date to these inscriptions that may be called for within the human period. Yet it is probable that they date back to no very great antiquity."

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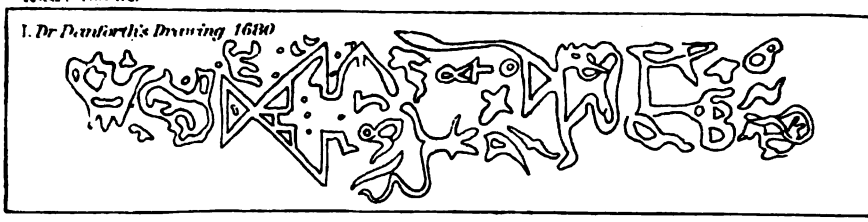

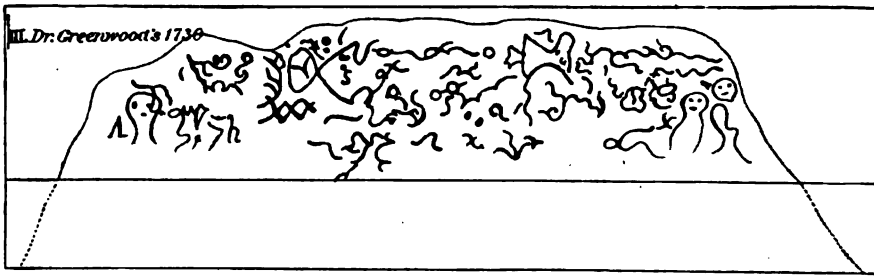

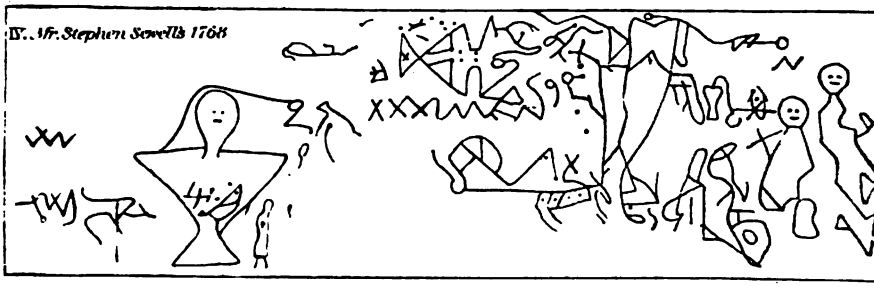

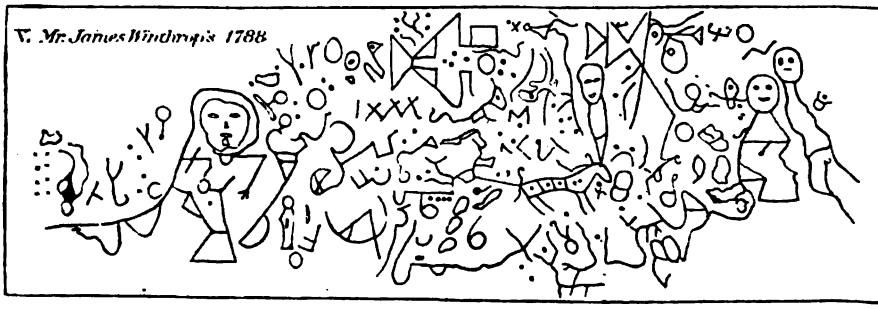

BEST KNOWN DRAWINGS OF DIGHTON ROCK MA

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE TEN

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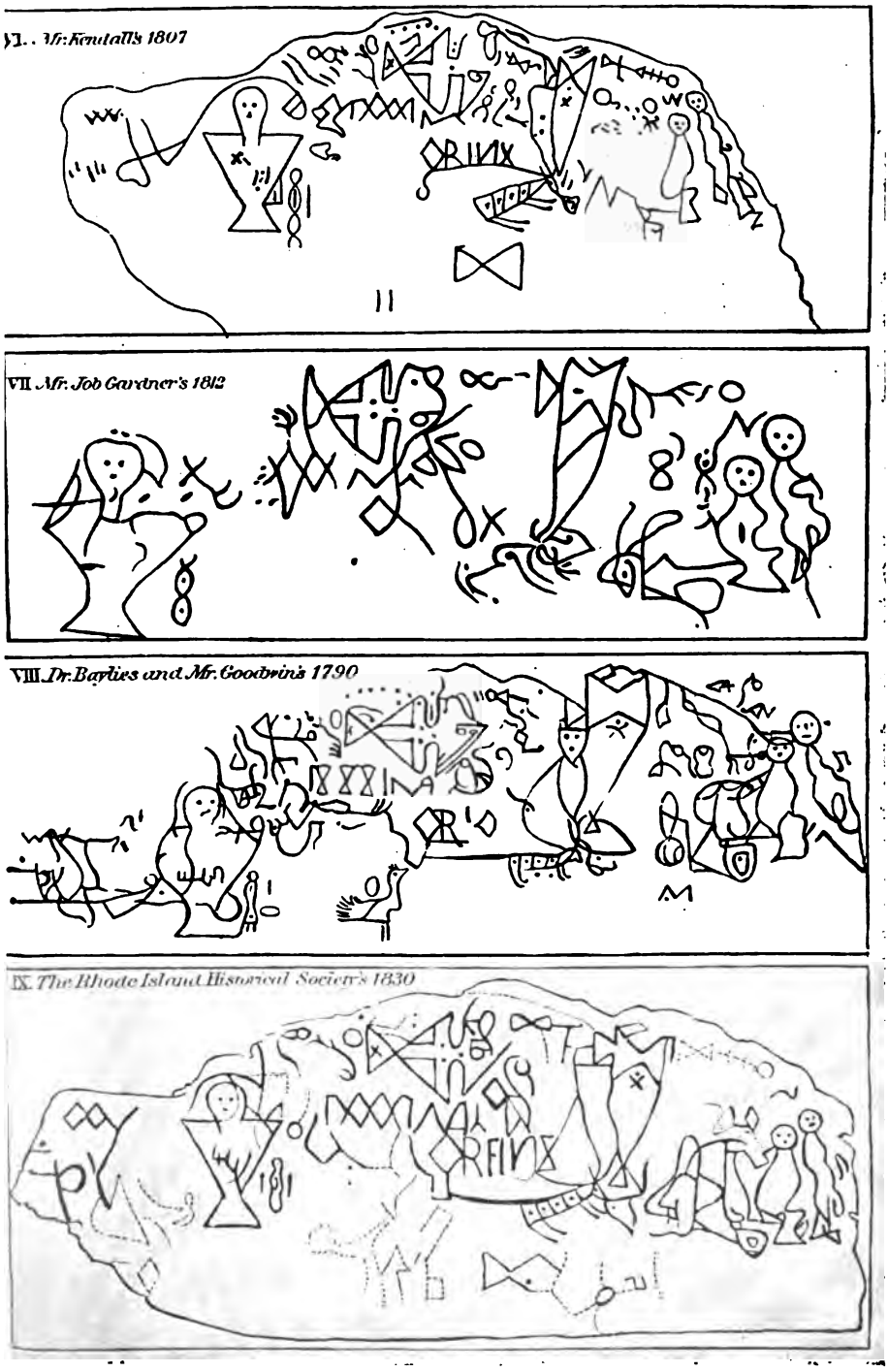

BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF PHOTOGRAPHY

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cial lines, noted in the earliest detailed description of the rock that we possess, cannot therefore be regarded as a decisive indication of great antiquity.[1] And there is no other indication of it than this. It follows that we do not know when the work was done. It is even possible, so far as real evidence shows, that it was at some time, or at various times, within the fifty years after the whites had settled in the neighborhood, during which the Indians still retained possession of Assonet Neck.[2]

[1] One of the most convincing evidences is the fact that on another part of the same rock is a group of characters so faint that they have apparently been seen and described by only one previous observer. Dr. Stiles made them out dimly in 1767, as he relates in his unpublished Itinerary, and was told by neighbors that they had been made not more than thirty years before. Without knowledge of their having been previously discovered, I saw them in 1915, and made a drawing in close agreement with that of Dr. Stiles. These figures, at least, *must* have been thinly carved in order to become difficult to discern within thirty years, and to have been overlooked by everyone else; and the wear of the rock must have been very slow indeed, since they are still discoverable after another 150 years.

[2] The principal objections that have been urged against this conclusion are these: (1) The Indians were too lazy; (2) they had no adequate tools; (3) they left no other similar monuments. The replies to all these claims are adequate and convincing. (1) Among others, E. G. Squier, in the paper already referred to, says that the labor expended on some other inscriptions of known Indian origin is vastly greater than that required to make the Dighton Rock inscription; that the work on some single ones of their tools was probably little less; and that they had abundant leisure. (2) Very many trustworthy authorities have claimed that the stone implements of the Indians sufficed for the work. But besides stone, they also possessed copper tools. Moreover, for nearly a century before there occurs any mention of the rock, they obtained from traders an abundance of iron and steel as well as copper implements. How abundant and varied these were has been shown best very recently through the uncovering of about sixty Indian interments on Burr's Hill, in Warren, Rhode Island. The collection is of the greatest historical value, and is preserved in the George Haile Free Library at Warren. It has not yet been adequately described, but some idea of it can be gained from the Providence Sunday Journal of August 24, 1913, section 5, p. 1, and November 30, 1913, section 5, p. 2. (3) A great number of Indian petroglyphs are now known and have been described by Schoolcraft (History, etc., of Indian Tribes, 1851), Squier (paper above cited; also Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, 1847), Mallery (10th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1893), and others. Of examples on Narragansett Bay, six were pictured in Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, and another by W. J. Miller in the Wampanoag Tribe of Indians, 1880. These and others have been described also by other writers. In the collection of the Old Colony Historical Society at Taunton is a headstone supposed to be that of a "praying Indian," with an inscription that is supposed to have been made during the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Danforth. In the collection of the George Haile Free Library at Warren, is a small

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River hardly more than a stone's throw from the rock. Within three years after the first settlement there, these meadows were assigned to the proprietors of Taunton: "Whereas the inhabitants of Cohannett, now called Taunton, haue complayned of thire greate want of meddow grounds . . . the Court doth therefore now order and graunt the meddow lands at Assonet . . . vnto the said inhabitants of Taunton." [1]

From another order of the General Court of Plymouth, dated June 6, 1643,[2] it appears that Assonet Neck, already bearing that name, was known to and desired by the men of Taunton. After acquiring its meadows, they soon proceeded to assign them to certain individuals among them. Unfortunately the record of the earliest grants is lost. The first reference [3] we can now find to the meadows at Smith's Cove, a little above Dighton Rock, apparently occurs in a record of 1669, and in one of 1680 the first to "Henry Hodges meadow," [4] just below the rock. But we do know that the meadow at Grassy Island, close by Dighton Rock, was assigned to the Rev. William Hook in accordance with a Court Order of 1640 that "competent meddow & vplands" be "layd forth" to him and others; [5] for in 1644, when Mr. Hook sold his holdings, he expressly reserved to himself two parcels of meadow, "the one lying at Grassy Island, the other at a place called Assonet." [6] Moreover, there are still preserved in the Proprietors' Records of Taunton at least two records of grants of meadows on Assonet Neck or near-by, farther away than the meadows near Dighton Rock, in 1648; and numerous others in 1657 and immediately succeeding years.[7] We may then safely conclude that hay was cut from all the near-by meadows almost from the beginning and that all the prominent rocks on the shore must have fallen within the range of vision of the white men; even further, that in their search for hay they must have inspected the

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, i. 142: dated March 3, 1639–40.

[2] ii. 58.

[3] William Bradford's Confirmatory Deed, Plymouth Colony Records of Deeds, v. 459.

[4] Agreement as to Division of Land on Assonet Neck, Bristol County, Massachusetts, N. District, Land Records, Book 3, p. 287.

[5] Plymouth Colony Records, i. 143.

[6] 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Taunton, 1889, p. 256.

[7] Old Proprietary Records, Taunton, Book 4, pp. 185, 188, 189, 192; Book 5, pp. 155, 156, 158, 159; etc.

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PLATE III

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[illegible] a stone's throw from the rock. Within [illegible] [illegible] there, these meadows were [illegible] [illegible] Taunton. "Whereas the inhabitants of [illegible] [illegible] have complayned of thire greate [illegible] [illegible] the Court doth therefore now order [illegible] [illegible] Assonet . . . vnto the said inhabitants [illegible]

[illegible] of the General Court of Plymouth, dated [illegible] that Assonet Neck, already bearing the [illegible] by the men of Taunton. After [illegible] proceeded to assign them to certain [illegible] the record of the [illegible] [illegible] now find to the meadows [illegible] Dighton Rock, apparently occurs [illegible] the first to "Henry [illegible] [illegible] But we do know that the [illegible] [illegible] by Dighton Rock, was assigned to the Rev. [illegible] accordance with a Court Order of 1640 that "[illegible] [illegible] be "laid forth" to him and others;[illegible] [illegible] holdings, he expressly reserved [illegible] "the one lying at Grassy Island [illegible] Assonet."[6] Moreover, there are [illegible] [illegible] Records of Taunton at least [illegible] [illegible] Assonet Neck or near by, far [illegible] [illegible] Rock, in 1648; and [illegible] [illegible] years.[7] We may then safely [illegible] all the near-by meadows almost from [illegible] the prominent rocks on the shore must [illegible] of vision of the white men; even [illegible] [illegible] they must have inspected the

[illegible] 142; dated [illegible] 3, 1639-40

[illegible]

[illegible] Plymouth Colony Records of [illegible] v. 47[illegible]

[illegible] Assonet Neck, Bristol County, Massachusetts, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of Taunton 1889, p. 25[illegible]

[illegible] Records, [illegible] Book 4, pp. 185, 188, 189, 192; Book [illegible] [illegible] etc.

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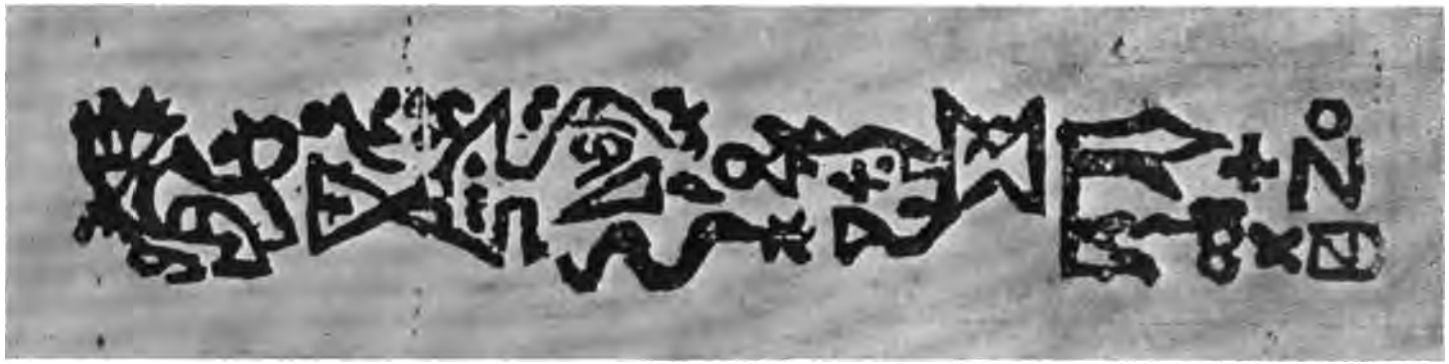

LORT'S REPRODUCTION OF DANFORTH'S DRAWING, 1680

FROM ARCHAEOLOGIA, 1787, VIII, PLATE XVIII

COTTON MATHER'S DRAWING, 1690

FROM MATHER'S WONDERFUL WORKS OF GOD COMMEMORATED, 1690. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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little cove[1] at Dighton Rock itself. Dighton Rock, therefore, had been seen by whites, probably as early as 1640. But this fact does not warrant any conclusion as to whether it was then inscribed or not; for no one seems to have thought to make an enduring statement as to its existence or appearance.

Assonet Neck and the Indians

There is another question of importance concerning this earliest period, of whose solution we know little. How much use did the Indians actually make of Assonet Neck? Was it in any way regarded by them as especially important or precious? It is often assumed that it was one of their most prized possessions. "No offers that the English had made," says Ebenezer W. Peirce,[2] "were found sufficient to induce the Indians to part with their loved resort upon Assonet Neck." "Assonet Neck was peculiarly the camping ground of the Wampanoag Indians. They retained possession of it longer than of any of the surrounding country, on account of the convenience of the oyster, clam and other fisheries."[3] The earliest discoverable statement of the sort is that of Isaac Greenwood in 1730, given in full on a later page of this paper, that "this Place was One of ye most considerable Seats of Indians in this Part of ye World, and the River remarkable for all Sorts of Fowl and Fish."[4] The one clear fact is that the Indians never did sell Assonet Neck, though efforts were made to buy it. This might conceivably have been because of the relative remoteness of the place, or for other reasons, rather than because of any particular love for it or extensive use made of it. Contemporary records are silent as to this. We only know that they did not sell, not why this was so. Examination of the Neck itself has not yet discovered any considerable signs of Indian occupancy. The so-called "Indian corn-hills," it is true, are still very numerous and in splendid preservation. Indian relics are found on the Neck, but not more abundantly than elsewhere. Much more extensive shell-heaps exist in Freetown, whose lands the Indians sold in 1659,

[1] Called Asonate Cove in a deed of 1768 (Bristol County, Massachusetts, N. District, Land Records, Book 57, p. 41).

[2] Collections Old Colony Historical Society, No. 3, 1885, p. 113.

[3] Walter D. Nichols, in Hurd's History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, 1883, p. 181.

[4] See p. 289, below.

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than are known on Assonet Neck. The place was inhabited by Indians, without question. But there is nothing yet, in records or in material remains, to show that it was held in exceptionally high esteem. It may well have been that it was; but evidence is lacking.

The few records that have a bearing on this matter, though inconclusive, are interesting. When Winslow and Hopkins, on their first visit to Massasoit in July, 1621, had crossed the river at the "knowne shole place" in Taunton, they went on down the river on the side opposite from Assonet Neck. "As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof, much ground was cleare, saue of weedes, which grewe higher then our heads."[1] The recent plague, however, had entirely depopulated this part of the country.[2] It is probable that the salt meadows along Taunton River were included in the original Cohannet purchase, for they were soon made use of by the settlers, as already noted. Moreover they are expressly mentioned in Philip's confirmatory deed of 1663. But some of them were sold again by the Indians to other parties in the "Freemen's Purchase" of 1659; and this fact gave rise to protracted disputes between the proprietors of Taunton and the "ancient ffreemen." The published histories of Taunton and of Freetown say nothing as to the settlement of these disputes; though how they all ended happily can be discovered from a probably unpublished document, which we shall have cause to mention again shortly. In 1643, apparently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to purchase Assonet Neck: "Whereas they [the inhabitants of Taunton] desire the Neck of Assonett for pastureing yeong beasts, it is also graunted by the Court, ꝑuided leave can be ꝑcured from Vssamequin, and all payments to be made by themselues, without any Charg to the countrey."[3]

There is widely current a tradition that Assonet Neck was "a place of banishment among the Indians." It is first mentioned in

[1] Mourt's Relation (ed. Dexter, 1865), pp. 104–105.

[2] Francis Baylies (Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, 1830, i. 283) says that the territory of Taunton, including Berkley, was claimed by the sachem of Tetiquet, but was desolate and depopulated, owing to the ravages of the plague. But the whole country had been thickly populated. In another place (iii. 3) he says: "The lands of Mt. Hope and Poppesquash and, probably Assonet and Shewamit, were held by the Wampanoags. The last were uninhabited."

[3] Plymouth Colony Records, ii. 58.

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1807 by an English traveler, Edward A. Kendall.[1] It is commonly assumed in the neighborhood that this fact of "banishment," as well as the name "Conspiracy" attached to a small island at the lower end of Assonet Neck, had something to do with King Philip's War. But this assumption is disproved by a record of 1670, — the record above referred to of the final agreement between the proprietors of Taunton and the "ancient ffreemen" concerning the position of the line between their possessions and the ownership of certain meadows about Assonet Bay and along Taunton River.[2] A part of their agreement reads thus: "All the Marsh or Meadow land at Assonate on both sides of Assonate Bay but not to extend any part to ye place commonly called the Banished Indians . . . shall be and is concluded to be Taunton meadows." The description is not definite enough to enable us to say whether this place was on the Neck itself. If not, it must have been in its close vicinity. We have no knowledge as to the reason for the name, nor for that of Conspiracy Island.[3]

[1] In a letter to the Hon. John Davis, dated October 29, 1807, published as an "Account of the Writing-Rock in Taunton River" in Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 165–191. The statement quoted is on p. 181; and is again made by Kendall in his Travels, 1809, ii. 231.

[2] Bristol County, Massachusetts, N. District, Land Records, Book 3, p. 198: 20 July, 1670. I am indebted to Charles R. Carr of Warren, Rhode Island, for this important reference.

[3] The two names do not seem to be Anglicized Indian designations, but more probably terms applied by the English because of incidents known to them and hence occurring after their arrival. If so, our choice among known incidents is very limited, and the most likely occasion for their origin seems to have been furnished by the events of the period between 1642 and 1645. There were "conspiracies" by Corbitant and the Namaskets in 1621, and by other Indians in 1623; but apparently they had nothing to do with this locality. In 1632 Massasoit was attacked by the Narragansett Canonicus, and successfully defended by the English. Nothing connects this conflict with the region in question. From 1634 to 1637 occurred the Pequot troubles, ending in the extermination of this tribe. Many Indians were taken captive and distributed among the allies; and some of these were afterward shipped away to be sold as slaves. Several persons have suggested to me that some of these may have been held for a time on Assonet Neck. But this region was still a remote, almost unknown, unsettled wilderness. Moreover, Plymouth took no part in the Pequot War, and had no share in the captives. The names must have arisen later, in all probability. The evidence as to the disposal of the Pequot captives is fully discussed by A. W. Lauber in his History of Slavery in Colonial Times (Columbia University Studies in History, 1913, liv. 374–376). A few years after this war, however, the Narragansetts did for many years actively "conspire" against both the Mohegans and the English;

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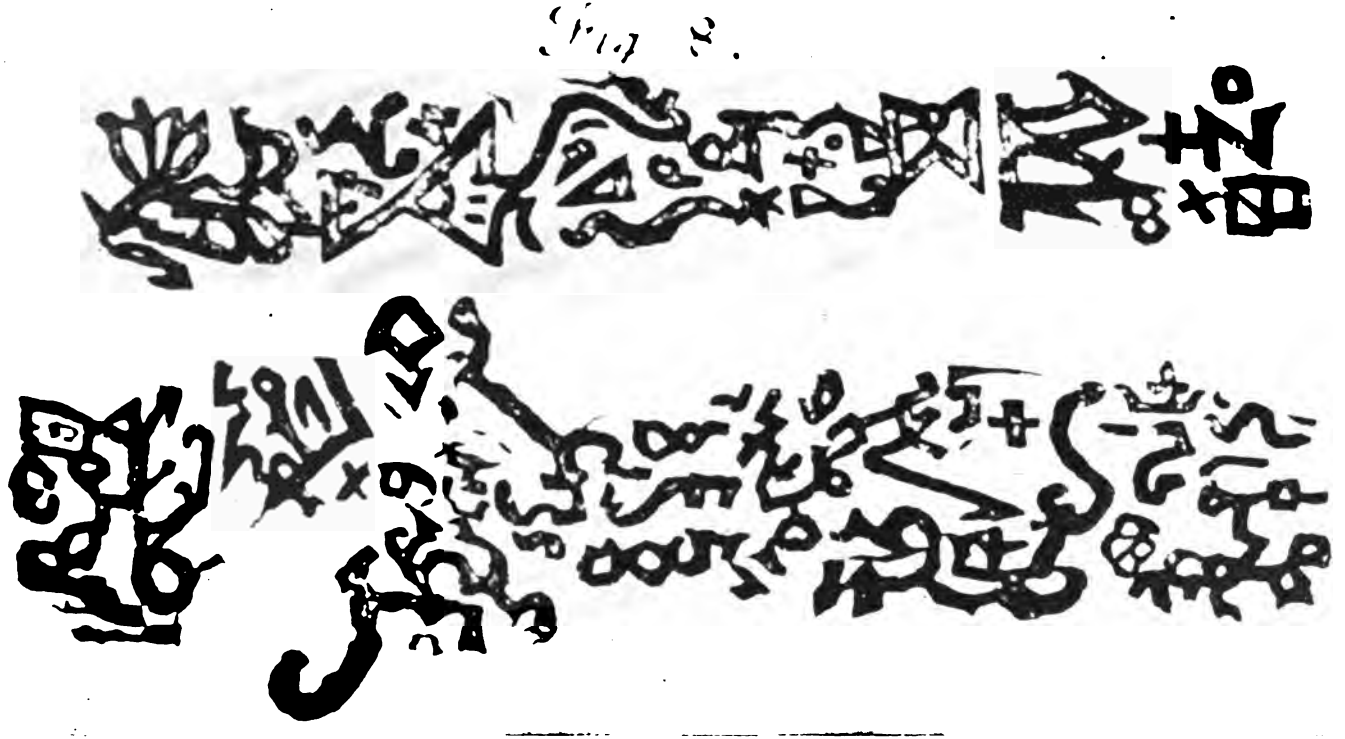

COTTON MATHER'S DRAWING, 1712

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, 1714, XXIX, NO. 339

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A record of 1673, testifying that a certain tract of land, bounded in part by Assonet and Taunton Rivers, is the property of an Indian

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some of their plottings were conducted not far away, at least, from the Taunton River; and they held for a time a number of Mohegan captives.

The known and unknown earlier rivals to this last named period are, therefore, merely unsupported possibilities. In its own favor, however, are a number of definite considerations. (1) "The Narigansets, after the subduing of the Pequents, thought to have ruled over all the Indeans aboute them. . . . By reason of [their] plottings, the Indeans were drawne into a generall conspiracie against the English in all parts" (Bradford, History of Plymouth Plantation, 1912, ii. 363, 353). They planned, according to Lion Gardener, to let the English alone until they had destroyed Uncas, "and then they, with [other tribes], would easily destroy us." The plot was an extended one; for, endeavoring to enlist the aid of Indians on Long Island, Miantonomoh told them: "We are all the sachems from east to west, both Moquekues and Mohauks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all [i.e., the English], at one appointed day" (Gardener's Narrative, in Orr's History of the Pequot War, pp. 138–142). These "Moquekues and Mohauks" were probably not two separate tribes; for the name of the Mohawks was known in two forms, each spelled in many ways, of which Moquawes, Mackwaes, Mawques, Maquas, are some that I have noticed. "All the sachems [of Long Island] hadd accepted and promised assistants and soe hadd all the Sachems from the Dutche to the Bay" (3 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, iii. 162). Some writers (e.g., S. G. Drake, Book of the Indians; G. W. Ellis, King Philip's War, pp. 26–35) blame Uncas and defend the Narragansetts; but "the belief was general that there was a widespread conspiracy among the Indians, with Miantunomo as their leader" (Bradford, ii. 354 n). Palfrey (History of New England, ii. 127 n) rightly insists that the reality of the alarm is shown by the record of public proceedings in all the colonies. (2) The Pocassets, living close to Assonet Neck, perhaps actually making use of it, may very likely have joined in these conspiracies; for their sachems, Corbitant and his successor Weetamoe, were always hostile to the English. "Ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, alyed to Massassoyte, but never any good freind to the English to this day" (Bradford, i. 225). (3) "Miantonomoh had, in some way, obtained possession of a portion of Massasoit's domains," which the English in 1643 endeavored to make him restore (Sylvester, Indian Wars of New England, i. 120 n. For confirmation, see Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 15). (4) In 1645, the Narragansetts occupied with hostile intent some place in this region. I find no definite indication as to just what place it was. However, the following statements are pertinent. The Commissioners of the United Colonies "sent to Plimoth to send forth their ·40· men with all speed, to lye at Seacunke, least any deanger should befalle it, before the rest were ready, it lying next the enemie" (Bradford, ii. 380). "Forces were sent out of Plymouth under the command of Capt. Standish, and marched as far as Rehoboth, that being near the borders of the Enemy" (Increase Mather, Early History of New England, Drake's edition, p. 195). This makes Assonet Neck, or the Pocasset country just south of it, a distinct possibility as the seat of the main body of the hostile Indians; for Seacunke alias Rehoboth, which Massasoit had sold to the English in 1641, extended nearly to the Taunton River. The southern extremity of Assonet Neck, with its wide

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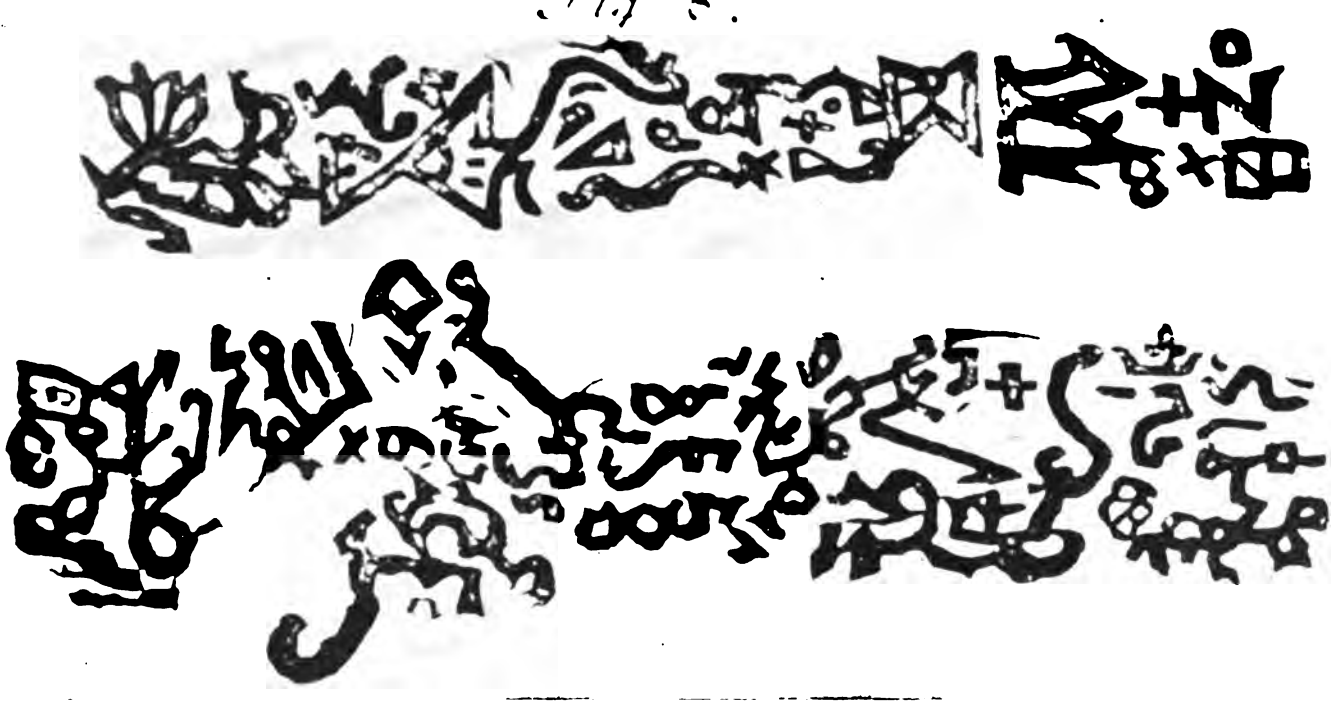

COTTON MATHER'S DRAWING, 1712

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, 1714, XXIX, NO. 339

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named Piowant, clearly refers to Assonet Neck. In this record [1] there occur two Indian local names that we might well wish had been preserved, instead of their probable modern equivalents of Stacy's Creek and Smith's Cove — "a smale Riuer or brooke called by the Indians Mastucksett," and "a place in Taunton Riuer called and

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outlook over protecting rivers, would perhaps have been the most favorable place in the region for their purpose. The following, from Edward Winslow's Hypocrisie Unmasked (London, 1646, p. 85), seems at first sight to argue against this assumption: "And for Captaine *Standish*, this I heard him relate, that being at the place of Rendezvouze, before the *Massachusets* Forces came, observing that some of the Inhabitants of *Providence* received the *Indians* into their houses familiarly, who had put themselves also into a posture of Armes, and the place within a mile of *Secunck* or *Rehoboth* where Captaine Standish lay; he sent to *Providence* and required them to lay aside their neutrality, and either declare themselves on the one side or other." Yet this is not conclusive, for these may have been wandering individual Indians, or other bands, and not the main body of the enemy. (5) By this time the Narragansetts held many Mohegan captives; for one condition of peace with them was that they should "restore unto Uncass, the Mohegan sagamore, all shuch captives, whether men, or women, or children, and all shuch canoowes, as they or any of their men have taken" (Bradford, ii. 384). If they "conspired" on Assonet Neck, they doubtless guarded their "banished" prisoners near-by — and no other meaning for "banishment" is supported by anything that we know about Indian practices. As late as 1649, Uncas complained that these captives and canoes had not been returned to him (Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 144).

It is well known that charges of conspiracy were made against Alexander in 1662 (G. W. Ellis, King Philip's War, 1906, p. 37), and against Philip as early as 1667 (p. 38). It may have been on one of these occasions that the island received its name, but there were no incidents in either of them suggestive of banishment. Again, in 1669, there was a "rumored Indian plot," of which Ninigret was supposed to be the head, and in which some Indians from Pocasset were apparently involved (Connecticut Colony Records, ii. 548–551; Rhode Island Colony Records, ii. 264–286). There is given no indication, however, that any of its plottings took place outside of Ninigret's own country. There may have been many other local and unrecorded "conspiracies," by Indians or others, besides those here noticed. If the two names, "Conspiracy" and "Banished Indians," originated together in connection with one series of events, then among incidents known to us those of the period from 1642 to 1645 appear to be the only ones offering a plausible explanation of them. But it is equally possible that they arose on separate occasions, and if so, that "Conspiracy" at least was of later origin. There is one other peculiar name applied to some place near-by, on the Freetown side of Assonet River, as to whose meaning it seems vain to speculate. This is a piece of salt meadow, "at a place called Behinde Noon, in a Cove" (Bristol County, Massachusetts, No. District, Land Evidences, Book 4, p. 492; record of 1705). It seems interesting and mysterious enough to be worthy of mention.

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, xii. 242.

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knowne by the Name of Chippascutt."[1] The document was signed by the squaw-sachem Wetamo and five other Indians. If Piowant alone was regarded as owner of the Neck — not Philip, nor other Indians of rank and prominence — does this fact have any bearing on the probable extent to which the place was occupied and used?

In 1676 the lands of Assonet Neck and some other places were seized by the Colony of New Plymouth as "conquered lands," and ordered to be sold to defray the debts occasioned by King Philip's War.[2] The sale of Assonet Neck to six men of Taunton for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds was effected on November 12, 1677. The sale is on record,[3] and the original deed itself was discovered in 1875 among papers of the Walker family by Ebenezer W. Peirce[4]

[1] I have no desire to appear as possessed of any real knowledge as to the derivation of Indian names. But an amateurish attempt to see what could be made of the two here mentioned led to interesting results. I made use of Trumbull's paper cited above, and of his Natick Dictionary (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 25, 1903). The name Mastucksett is derived, as I judge from Trumbull's manner of explaining similar names, either from *maskhet-ock-set*, "near the meadow land," or from *massa-tuk-set*, "near the big tidal river" (i.e., the Assonet River). Either of these would be appropriate for Stacy's Creek. The name Chippascutt is of more interest. It was without question applied to some place in or near Smith's Cove, or to the Cove itself. This is a considerable widening of Taunton River opposite the village of Dighton, where the river is divided into two by Grassy Island. Dighton Rock stands on the shore of this Smith's Cove. In the paper cited (p. 10), Trumbull says that *peske-tuk* means "a divided river;" and in his Natick Dictionary he gives the meaning of *chippe* as "(it is) separated, apart," or divided. Thus *chippe-peske-tuk* or *chip-peske-ut* would be "at the dividing of the river." But an alternative meaning seems warranted by the Natick Dictionary. In it, there is no indication given of *peske* or anything similar meaning "river." But *-pisk* means "rock;" *chepisq* or *chippipsk* means "a detached or separated rock." According to this, *chepisq-ut* would imply "at the rock that stands apart," and thus perhaps Dighton Rock. But again, the meaning "division" as well as "apartness" is justified by Trumbull's examples (see the word "divide" in the Dictionary), and hence the word may signify "at the cleft rock." Now a Cleft of Rocks — a narrow cleft about six inches wide and perhaps thirty feet deep in the massive conglomerate of Hospital Hill, at the northern end of Assonet Neck and at the head of the meadows bordering on Smith's Cove — is a natural curiosity of the region, and is mentioned as a boundary mark in the original Assonet Neck deed of 1677, and in another deed of 1687 (Book 5 of Land Evidences at Taunton, p. 367). It may be this that is referred to in the name.

[2] Plymouth Colony Records, v. 191 (10 March 1675–6), 240 (July 13, 1677).

[3] Plymouth Colony Records of Deeds, Book 5, p. 199.

[4] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxix. 318; Indian History, etc., 1878, p. 254.

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and is now in possession of the Old Colony Historical Society of Taunton.[1]

Though there are other references to Assonet Neck during the period thus surveyed, yet these are all that I have yet discovered bearing in any way on the question of the Indians' relation to it. Actual facts are few, and are as non-committal as are those concerning knowledge of Dighton Rock by the early white settlers. Their assemblage is at least of value in showing that opinion in favor of a great antiquity for the inscription, and against the possibility of its having been made by the Indians, must be matter of speculation only; and that the positive statements that have been ventured on these questions are unwarranted. Perhaps it may not be unreasonable to hope that further pertinent facts are known to some, and may, in consequence of this display of ignorance after diligent search, be brought to the writer's attention.

Identity of "Rev. Dr." Danforth

An age of myth passes into one of historical accuracy by slow stages. In the intermediate period grains of truth appear, but long remain mingled with inaccuracies of statement and inferences undistinguished from fact. Eventually these unreliable features may get sifted out, and possibly new truths may come to light. In the case before us, several errors and inferences first made have thus far persisted without correction, in spite of two hundred years of vigorous discussion; and there are new facts to record. The first printed reference to Dighton Rock — in fact, the earliest first-hand record of any kind of which we can be sure — was made in 1690. But ten years earlier, in 1680, a semi-mythical personage emerges, the "Rev. Dr. Danforth." In all the literature of the subject there is no decisive indication as to who this person was. Fortunately, however, it is possible now to establish his iden-

[1] I have had photostats made of this deed. It bears the signatures of Constant Southworth, Treasurer of Plymouth Colony, of Josiah Winslow, Governor, and of Nathaniel Morton, Secretary. Its seal is in fair preservation, and is a different one from that shown on The Book of the General Laws Of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, Boston, 1685. The "V" of the word "PLIMOVTH" in the latter, is lacking in this; and there are other differences. The possession of two seals by the Colony appears not to have been known heretofore.

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tity beyond question, and thus to begin the historical period of Dighton Rock definitely with the year 1680.

This "Danforth," we are told, made a drawing of a portion of the inscription in 1680; narrated a legend concerning it; and ventured a statement as to what two of its figures signified. We are indebted to the researches of the Rev. Michael Lort, in 1786, among the unpublished records of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries of London, for the first mention of these facts and the first publication of the drawing — over a hundred years after the observations were made. Lort's information came, as he says, from an entry in the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which quoted a letter written by Professor Greenwood in 1730. The letter from which the Antiquaries' extract was made was found recently in the British Museum by David I. Bushnell, who published a transcript of it, not wholly reliable, in 1908.[1] This adds no further information concerning Danforth to what Lort had already told. It does, however, give a photographic reproduction of Danforth's drawing, which conveys a very different impression from that given by Lort's presentation of it. Another small item completes all that we have ever been told about Danforth and his opinions. James Phinney Baxter, writing in 1887,[2] referring to a letter to which he assigns an erroneous date, and which he wrongly says was addressed to Sir Hans Sloane, quotes certain words practically identical with those attributed to Danforth in Lort's and in Bushnell's Greenwood letter, though without mentioning either who wrote the letter, or that the quoted words were Danforth's. He gives, however, a sentence not found in Lort, which has really served as the clue to our later discovery of the real Danforth. "In another place," Mr. Baxter says, "he adds to the account, that 'they slew y^{r} Saunchim.'" This sentence is certainly not in the Greenwood letter from which Lort derived his information, and hence points to another source of information. In a paper on "Early Voyages to America" two years later Mr. Baxter repeats this quotation, again misstating the date and the recipient of the letter, again also omitting to mention the name of its writer and the fact that Danforth was author of the portion

[1] An Early Account of Dighton Rock, American Anthropologist, 1908, x. 251–254.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1887, xli. 414.

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MATHER BROAD

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM AN ORIGI

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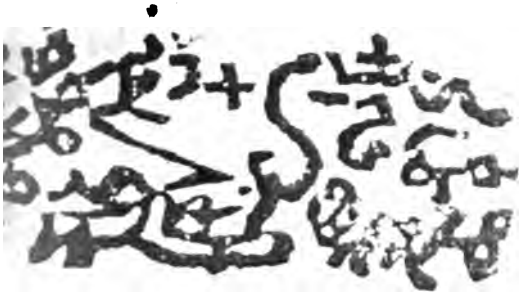

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quoted, and adding the further error that the letter is in the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum.[1]

All that Greenwood said concerning Danforth, in the letter quoted by Lort and transcribed by Bushnell, after mentioning the fact that he sends a "Draught of some parts of this Inscription taken by the Rev^{d} M^{r}. Danforth 1680," is this: "This Gentleman observes with relation to it, that there was a Tradition current among the eldest Indians 'That there came a wooden house (and men of another Country in it) swimming up the River of Assoonet (as this was then called) who fought the Indians with mighty Success &c.' . . . Some take this Inscription to be Hieroglyphical, thinking that in N° 2 the first figure represents a Ship without Masts and a mere Wreck cast upon the Shoals. The second representing an Head of Land possibly a Cape with a Peninsula Hence a Gulf (this according to Mr Danforth)." Under the drawing by Danforth, Greenwood writes: "N° 2 Delineata per D^{om} Danforth Anno 1680."[2] Add to these statements Baxter's discovery that "they slew y^{r} Saunchim" (or "Saunchem," as he also spells it), and the further fact that Lort spoke of our hero as the "Rev. Dr. Danforth," thus setting a fashion which has been followed by practically every one else since then, and we have the sum total of information concerning Danforth and his drawing and opinions which has yet been made public.

Who was this "Rev. Dr. Danforth"? It is generally and naturally assumed that it was the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton. This assumption, however, presented one difficulty to any one who looked carefully into the facts. Samuel was son of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury (who died in 1674) and was born December 18, 1666. In 1680, therefore, he was only thirteen years old, was a Freshman or Sophomore at Harvard, and had very likely never been in Taunton. He graduated in 1683, remained at College as Resident Bachelor, and took his A.M. in 1686. Shortly afterward he was called to the church at Taunton, and was ordained there September 21, 1687 — seven years after the drawing is reported to have been made. On the other hand, there seems to have been only one other

[1] Collections Old Colony Historical Society, 1889, No. 4, p. 16. Mr. Baxter in this paper expressly disclaims any pretension to critical accuracy and completeness, and is rather to be congratulated on the real discovery that he made than criticized for not having taken ampler notes.

[2] The source of these quotations is discussed fully in a later part of this paper.

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Danforth in 1680 who afterward became a clergyman. Neither of them held the title "Doctor." This other Danforth was Samuel's brother John, born November 9, 1660, graduated from Harvard College 1677, either a Resident Bachelor at Harvard in 1680 or just leaving there with the A.M. degree, and nearly twenty years old. He was afterward minister at Dorchester.[1] There is nothing in all the published facts concerning John Danforth to suggest any interest on his part in Dighton Rock. Under these circumstances it was not unnatural to suppose that Greenwood referred to some other Danforth, who was not a "Rev." (neither of these two was such in 1680), or that the 1680 was an error, perhaps for 1688 or 1689. If the latter, then nothing would have been more natural than to suppose that the Rev. Samuel, soon after his coming to Taunton, heard of the curious inscribed rock, which was then within the limits of his parish,[2] and soon went to see it and was interested enough to make a drawing of a portion of it. It is known that he was later greatly interested in the Indians and their affairs and compiled an Indian Vocabulary.[3] Until very recently, therefore, the conclusion seemed practically certain that it was the Rev. Samuel Danforth who was referred to, and that the drawing was made in 1688 or even later.[4]

Acting on the clue furnished by Mr. Baxter, however, I have had search made in the British Museum for additional material, and

[1] These biographical facts concerning the Danforths can be confirmed and extended from Sibley's Harvard Graduates, i. 88, ii. 369, 507, iii. 171, 243; and from J. J. May's Danforth Genealogy, 1902. I am myself indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews for them.

[2] Assonet Neck was made a part of Taunton in 1682, of Taunton South Precinct in 1709, of Dighton in 1712, and of Berkley in 1799.

[3] Now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mrs. Eliza Howard, who presented it in 1796, wrote to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap concerning Samuel Danforth: "He was very zealous for promoting religion among the Indians." The Vocabulary is in manuscript, and is not complete.

[4] I take the liberty of quoting from a letter by Mr. Albert Matthews, written April 11, 1915, shortly after I had told him of my discovery of the real facts, to show that others shared the above opinion: "As I run over in my mind the reasons that led you, Mr. Gay, and myself to conclude that it was Samuel and not John Danforth who made the first copy, I fail to see how we could have reached any other decision from the available facts." Samuel F. Haven (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1864, p. 41) arrived at the same conclusion: "probably the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, though he must at that time have been quite a young man."

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have obtained from the Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London a transcript of the entry in the Minutes of that Society from which Lort drew his information. Both quests have yielded important results. Through the one, we can positively identify the Danforth concerned, as well as verify and add detail to the date. Through the other, we now know why he has always been dignified with the unmerited title of "Dr."

John Danforth's Drawing, 1680

It was the Rev. John Danforth, later of Dorchester, who made the drawing, and it was in October, 1680, that it was done. This we learn from a statement in a second letter by Greenwood, now in the British Museum.[1] This is doubtless the letter from which Baxter quoted; and it was also seen there by Bushnell, but not transcribed.[2] Possibly neither of them read the portion containing this new information. Certainly neither of them realized its importance sufficiently to quote it. There is practically nothing else concerning Danforth in this second letter additional to what is contained in the first,[3] except that it also contains a version of Danforth's drawing differing slightly from the other. Both of these drawings are reproduced in our plates; and we also present for further comparison a reproduction of Lort's rendering of Danforth.[4] It will be noted that the two drawings, as sent by Greenwood, have the figures solidly blocked in, while Lort's version is in outline only. It is this fact mainly which has made the Danforth drawing appear at first sight so different in character from all subsequent ones. The

[1] A facsimile reproduction of the entire letter is given in Plates XII to XVI. It is more fully discussed below (pp. 280–291), where it is called the "Greenwood Letter B."

[2] So the writer is informed by Mr. Bushnell in a private letter.

[3] The material is presented, however, in an entirely different manner. In the first letter it was quoted in part in the body of the letter, and then further information was added in a postscript. In the second letter the same quotation is given in the body, but there is enclosed also an entirely separate slip of paper containing all the facts, in place of the postscript. Later in this paper (p. 284, below), I present reasons for believing that this enclosed slip may have been written by Danforth himself, and that the accompanying drawing also may have been Danforth's own.

[4] See Plates XI, XV, and III. The version by Lort is from Archaeologia, London, 1787, vol. viii, plate xviii.

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drawings will receive more detailed study in our later discussion of Greenwood.

As to the value of Danforth's drawing, beyond its historical interest, comparison with all the other available depictions that we have of this part of the rock convinces me that this is at least as faithful and accurate as any, and it has the additional advantage of being earlier by fifty years than any other and of showing some portions of the rock that have apparently since then broken away. I am inclined to speak even more positively. The most truthful of all depictions are of course those that leave the greater part of the figures vague and uncertain, as they really are. Of these, the Burgess photograph of 1868, here reproduced for the first time, is the best. The only other examples are the Kendall painting of 1807, badly misrepresented in all its reproductions except the one by Kendall himself in an engraving in the third volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1809; and the unpublished Seager drawings of 1864, in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. But I think it very probable that the Danforth of 1680 is the best of all that have attempted to interpret the characters into perfect clearness. Other critics have not always agreed with this opinion, some of them having, in the theories they were advocating, personal reasons for prejudice. Such other opinions as I have happened to transcribe into my notes I give as examples in a footnote.[1]

[1] Thomas H. Webb, sending a copy of Danforth to Professor Rafn in 1834, says: "This is not sent with any idea that it will prove serviceable in your present enquiry, but simply to shew what strange things have been conjured up by travellers, and sent to Europe for examination" (Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, p. 371).

Professor C. C. Rafn (in the same volume, p. 377) says: "Danforth's drawing merits no confidence."

Karl H. Hermes (Die Entdeckung von America durch die Islander, 1844, p. 123) calls it "eine rohe Abbildung."

Daniel Wilson (Prehistoric Man, 1862, ii. 172–178): "As early as 1680, Dr. Danforth executed what he characterizes as a 'faithful and accurate representation of the inscription.'" This statement is one of several errors of which Wilson is guilty.

Rev. Charles R. Hale, in an unpublished manuscript discussion of Dighton Rock (in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society; written in 1865), repeats this last statement, without reference to its source, adding that only a very vivid imagination could so describe it. He says further: "Danforth's drawing is quite too incorrect to be the basis of any accurate reasoning."

None of these critics, of course, had the advantage of acquaintance with the

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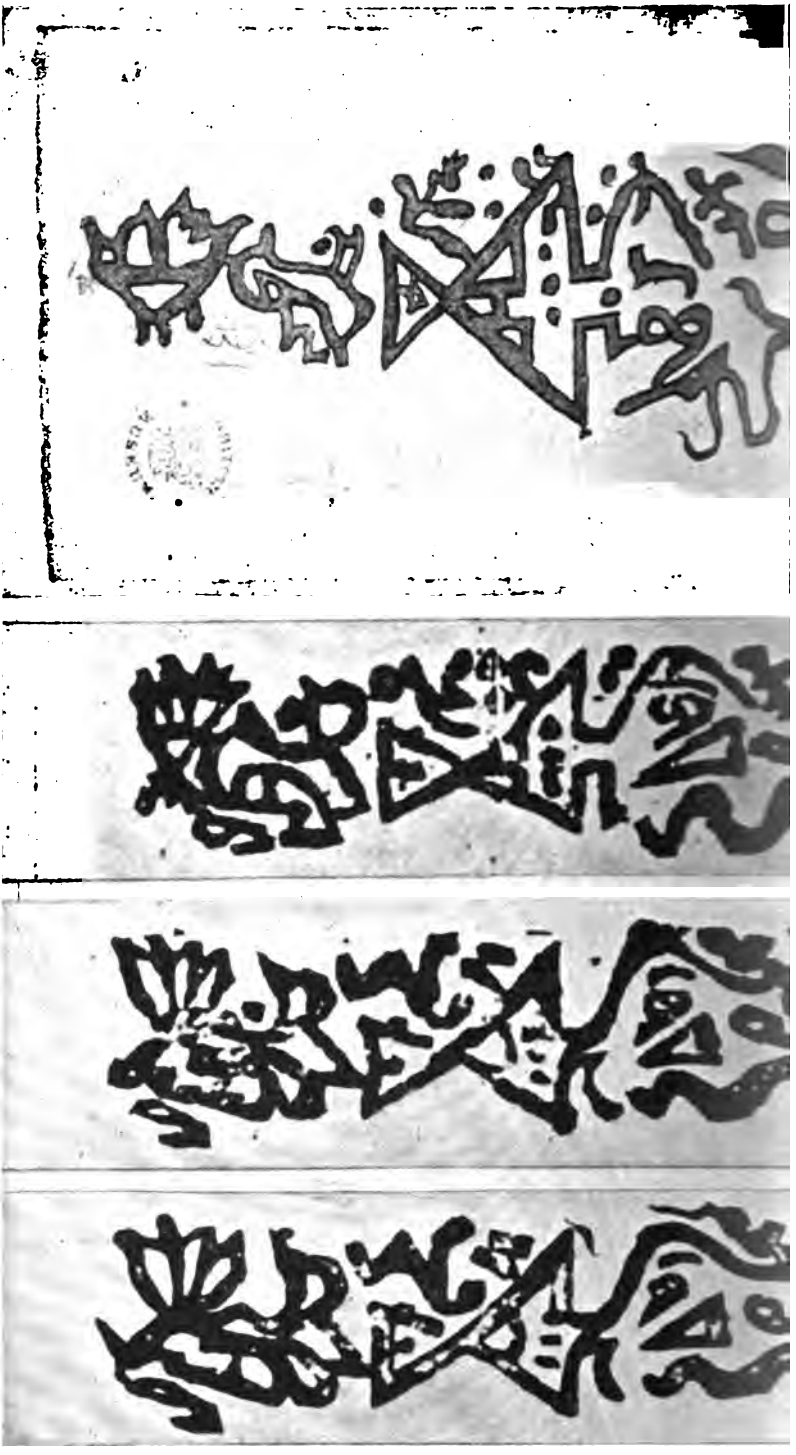

COMPARISONS OF THE DANFORTH DRAWING 1680, T
AND THE MATH

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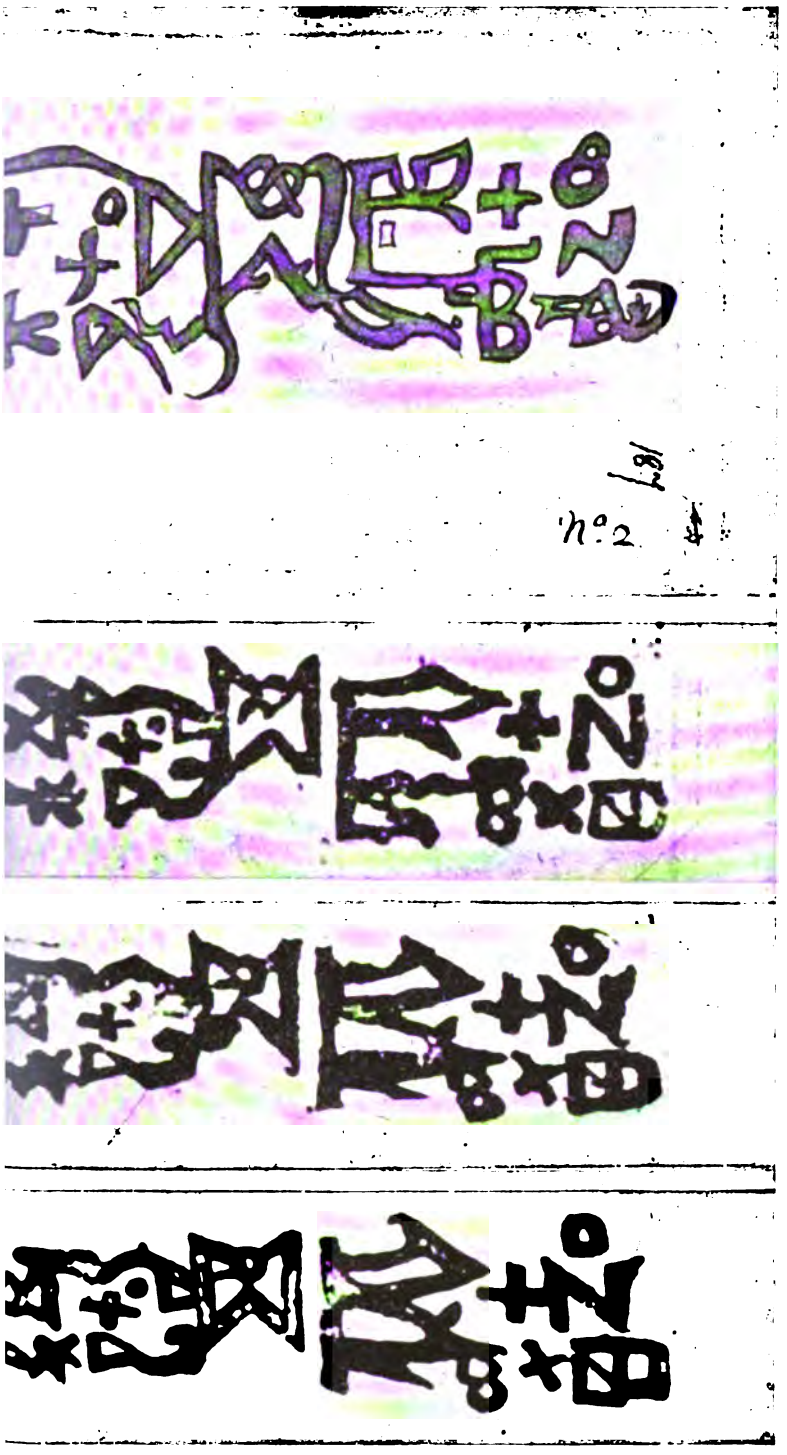

IE MATHER DRAWING 1690, THE MATHER BROADSIDE,
R DRAWING 1712
L SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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It will be remembered that under the drawings accompanying the first Greenwood Letter (called Letter A in our later discussion), Greenwood wrote: "D^{om} Greenwood," "D^{om} Danforth." The "D^{om}" evidently signifies merely Dominus, "Mister."[1] But it is easy to see that this could very readily be mistaken for "D^{r}." And this is what actually occurred. The Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries informs me that in the Minutes of the Society the drawings were reproduced, as well as a portion of the letter; and that under them is written: "Dr. Greenwood," "Dr. Danforth." The error, therefore, was not Lort's in 1787, but was made when the record was entered in these Minutes, in 1732. This, then, is the reason why both of these men, to neither of whom the title belonged, have been "doctored" in all the literature of Dighton Rock which makes any mention of them, except to call them just plain "Danforth" or "Greenwood" only.

It was not until more than a hundred years had passed after John Danforth made his drawing, as has been said already, that any mention of it was published. What was then made known through Lort[2] became matter of common knowledge in the period of excited discussion following the publication of Rafn's elaborate work[3] in 1837, with its promulgation of the startling theory that the inscription on Dighton Rock was due to adventurous Northmen in the year 1008. Our chosen limitations prevent us from entering into any discussion of that as well as of many other interesting theories. We may be pardoned, however, for dwelling on the strangeness of the fact that, with the information available, as we shall see it was, to Lort, and so nearly found by at least two observers since, it is only now, a good deal more than another hundred years since Lort, that Danforth's real identity comes to light.

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genuine original of Danforth; though that would probably have made little difference in their opinion. Hale had Seager's cautious drawing in mind as his ideal.

[1] Though perhaps the word "Mister" does not express the exact significance of "Dominus," yet it seems to be the nearest English equivalent that we have; and is the equivalent that Greenwood used when referring to these persons in English.

[2] Account of an antient Inscription in North America, Archaeologia, viii. 290–301.

[3] Antiquitates Americanæ, Hafniæ, 1837.

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COTTON MATHER'S DESCRIPTION AND DRAWING, 1690

The first printed reference to Dighton Rock was made by Cotton Mather in 1690. It has been mentioned in very few even of the most complete discussions of the subject. Lort does not speak of it, nor does Rafn in what he attempted to make an exhaustive survey of previous discussions and a complete collection of all previous drawings. Consequently, although a very large number of writers enumerate the copies of the inscription, there are only two or three of them who include this item.[1]

Mather delivered a sermon on December 19, 1689, which he published in 1690 under the title The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated.[2] Before the sermon, the book contains an Epistle Dedicatory "To the Right Worshipful Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet." Near the end of this Epistle occurs the following account of Dighton Rock:

> Among the other Curiosities of *New-England*, One is that of a mighty *Rock*, on a perpendicular side whereof by a River, which at High Tide covers part of it, there are very deeply Engraved, no man alive knows *How* or *When*, about half a score *Lines*, near Ten Foot *Long*, and a foot and half *broad*, filled with strange Characters; which would suggest as *odd Thoughts* about them that were here before us, as there are *odd Shapes* in that Elaborate Monument; whereof you shall see, the *first Line* Transcribed here.

This is followed by a crude cut of the supposed "first line," which we reproduce in Plate III, from a photostatic copy. The dimensions of the original are about one half inch by three inches.

Mather changed his opinion later, as we shall see, as to the number of lines; and was mistaken in thinking that the inscription was arranged in "lines" at all. He probably never saw the rock himself, and nowhere claims that he did. He certainly did not himself origi-

[1] The earliest mention of it in the subsequent literature of Dighton Rock that I have taken note of is by Samuel G. Drake in his edition of F. Baylies's Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, 1866, pt. v. p. 22.

[2] A copy in the Prince Library (Boston Public Library) has on a fly-leaf the signature "Mary Thacher Her Book Anno Domini 1689," indicating that the sermon was published before March 25, 1690. For this information, as well as for various references to Boston newspapers cited later, I am indebted to Mr. Matthews. There was a second edition of this book published in 1703 (Sabin, xi. 450).

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nate either this drawing or the one that he sent to the Royal Society later. Whence, then, did he obtain the drawing? Unfortunately his Diary gives no clue, for the portions from January 8, 1687, to May 17, 1690, are missing, and it is doubtful if they would have made mention of such a matter anyway. Nor does there seem to be extant any statement elsewhere, by him or by others, that gives the information. Yet we can be almost absolutely certain as to its source.

One of our plates [1] shows the nine most commonly reproduced representations of the Dighton Rock inscription. These nine were first gathered together by Rafn, and have been shown in this tabular form by Winsor [2] and by Garrick Mallery.[3] Among the nine copies exhibited, one is that of Cotton Mather 1712, the upper part of which, representing the same "first line" as this 1690 cut, is almost identical with the latter. A glance at this 1712 Mather, the only one ever heretofore reproduced, gives the impression that it is utterly dissimilar to any of those by other artists. The impression is due, however, almost wholly to the small size of the cut and to the fact that its lines are broader and blacker than in other representations. Lort's reproduction of Danforth also looks different from the other drawings, as well as from the Mather, largely because it too represents the lines broad, and in outline only. Naturally no one has suspected a relation between the two. When I first saw the Bushnell photograph of Danforth as actually sent by Greenwood, with the lines not in outline but fully filled in, it occurred to me that it was not so dissimilar to the others as I had supposed. It then further occurred to me to enlarge the 1690 Mather to the same size as Bushnell's Danforth, and to compare the two. The result is to show a very remarkable degree of similarity. To compare Lort's Danforth with the enlarged Mather does not bring out the similarity very well. Consequently, to facilitate this comparison and another that is to be made later, I have brought together onto one plate one of the two Greenwood versions of Danforth, photographically reproduced, drawn in full lines instead of outline; the 1690 Mather enlarged to the same

[1] Plate II.

[2] Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, i. 103. This is a reproduction of seven of them, from a plate in Antiquitates Americanæ.

[3] Picture-Writing of the American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, 10th Annual Report, 1888–'89 (1893), plate liv, p. 762.

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scale; and two other versions by Mather of a later date.[1] The Danforth and Mather are unquestionably different. At first sight one might think that no one could have copied one from the other and have done it so poorly. But this consideration loses its force on comparing the 1712 with the 1690 Mather, and again with what we later call the "Broadside" Mather, which are also given in our plate together. The three Mather versions differ from one another almost, if not quite, as markedly as the 1690 Mather does from the Danforth. The evident truth is that Mather was not a careful and accurate copyist. He was content to convey a general impression, and allowed himself almost unbelievable liberties in the details of his copying. It was doubtless not peculiarly a fault of Mather alone to be thus careless of accuracy. Although exhibited by him in an extreme degree, yet it was more or less characteristic of his time, as was so sensibly observed by Professor Kittredge[2] concerning his alleged credulity; and it is a feature which has not disappeared entirely from scientific work even yet. When the Philosophical Transactions were abridged by Jones in 1721, he reproduced Mather's original cut of 1714, but with some differences. Mallery's presentation of the same cut is again somewhat different. If we count the "Broadside" as a Mather, we have then at least five versions of the "first line" of Mather, each exhibiting differences from the others.[3] Were it not for the photostat, our own exactitude of reproduction would have been impossible. Where there was no need for scientific accuracy and no intention of attempting it, as in Mather's case, considerable differences in copies were inevitable.

If now, with these considerations in mind, we again compare Mather with Danforth, and the two with all the rest, we must be

[1] Plate VI.

[2] Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society, Publications of this Society, xiv. 82.

[3] There are many later cases where there are differences between original and copy in the representations of this inscription. The degree of difference naturally grows less, as we approach modern times. Sewall's original of 1768 was several times copied, and always with large variations. Many versions of the drawing of 1789 exist; and they differ. The copies of Kendall's 1807 original are in important respects very different from it. The 1830 drawings by Bartlett and by a Committee of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and the Gardner photograph of 1875, have been more frequently reproduced than any others; and always with some points of difference, except when copied by a photographic process.

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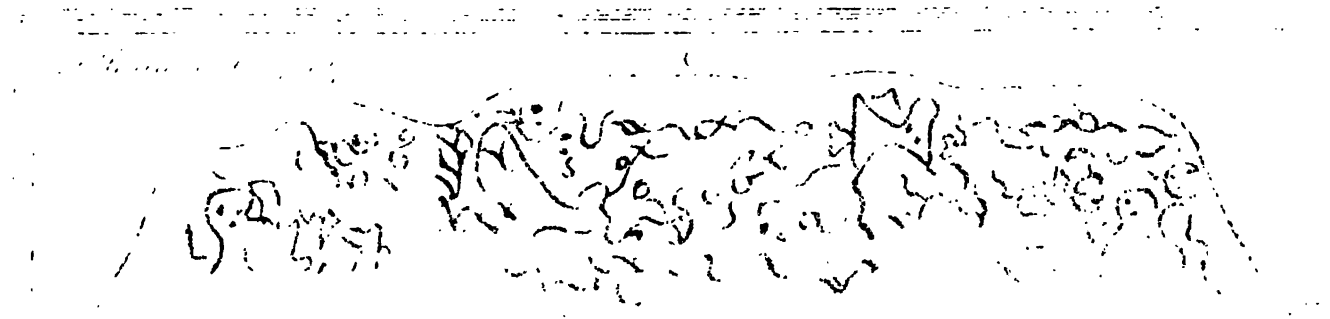

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[illegible] version by Mather of a later date [illegible] unquestionably different. At first [illegible] could have copied one from the [illegible] But this consideration loses its for[illegible] with the 1690 Mather, and again with [illegible] Mather, which are also given [illegible] Mather versions differ from one another [illegible] as the 1690 Mather does from the [illegible] that Mather was not a careful and a[illegible] to [illegible] a general impression, [illegible] liberties in the details of his [illegible] not [illegible] a fault of Mather [illegible] Although exhibit[illegible] more [illegible] characteristic of his time, as [illegible] Kittredge [2] concerning his [illegible] which has not [illegible] When the Philosophical Tra[illegible] 1721, he reproduced Mather's [illegible] differences. Mather's presentatio[illegible] different. [illegible] we com[illegible] the [illegible] versions of [illegible] differences from the others [illegible] own exactitude of reproduc[illegible] there was no need for [illegible] attempting it, as in Mather [illegible] inevitable.

[illegible] in mind, we [illegible] compare Mather [illegible] the two with all the rest, we [illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible] to the Royal Society. [illegible] of the Society, [illegible]

3 [illegible] original copy in the [illegible] The [illegible] differences grows [illegible] Sewall's [illegible] 17[illegible] several times [illegible] versions. [illegible] versions of [illegible] of 1690 and [illegible] of 18[illegible] respects [illegible] the [illegible] Society, and the Gardner [illegible] have been [illegible] than many others; [illegible] of all [illegible] by a photographic [illegible]

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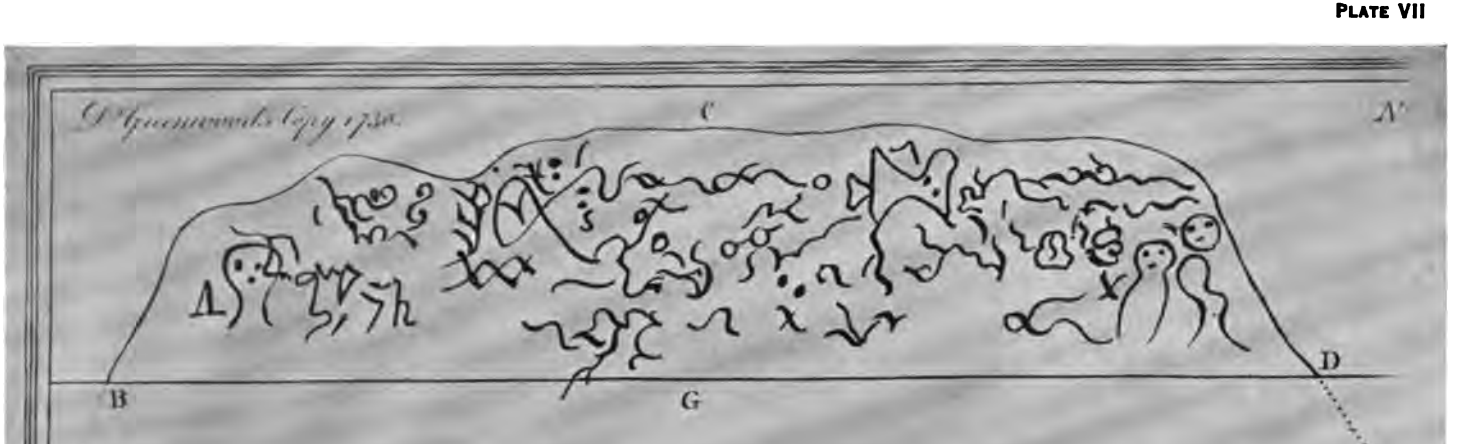

LORT'S REPRODUCTION OF GREENWOOD'S DRAWING, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM ARCHAEOLOGIA, 1787, VIII, PLATE XVIII

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convinced that they are of the same type, that they present a clear family resemblance. No drawing or photograph made by any one else in all the history of Dighton Rock shows this kind of resemblance. As an expert can identify differing samples of an individual's handwriting, so here careful study and comparison show the kind of quality in these two drawings which makes it almost if not fully certain that they come from the same original source. Mather was intimately acquainted with Danforth. They both show the "first line" only. Mather speaks of it very soon after Danforth becomes settled as a minister in a place near Boston.[1] The conclusion is unavoidable that Mather copied his drawing from Danforth's. Danforth's, then, is the only original drawing of this part of Dighton Rock that we know of until Greenwood made the second known copy of the inscription direct from the rock in 1730.

Samuel Sewall's Reference to the Rock, 1691

The next discoverable reference to Dighton Rock appears in the Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall in 1691. As this has been put in print only recently, it is natural that no previous writer on the Rock has discovered this case of its receiving mention. The entry reads as follows: "Febr. 24, 169$\frac{9}{1}$. Memorand. to write to Mr. Danforth to take the writing off the Rock and send it."[2] The editors of the work have inserted a footnote reading: "Probably at Dighton." The index to Series 6 of the Massachusetts Historical Collections refers to this passage, though for what reason it is not easy to see, under the name: "Rev. John Danforth, of Dorchester." We have no further knowledge of the reason for Sewall's desire, or as to which Danforth he intended to write to, or as to whether he carried out his intention. It may be that he sought for evidence in support of the theory that the American Indians were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. In 1650 Thomas Thorowgood[3] had advocated this view, as had many others. Samuel F. Haven tells us: "The Mathers, Samuel Sewall, and most of the prominent scholars and theologians of Massachusetts,

[1] John Danforth was ordained at Dorchester, June 28, 1682.

[2] Letter-Book, i. 116. Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, aided me in the discovery of this passage.

[3] Jews in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race, London, 1650. New edition with additions, 1660.

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were inclined to the same opinion, which has never failed to find supporters."[1] Sewall's Letter-Book[2] shows traces of adherence to this view, though nowhere advocating it without reserve. Greenwood's letters, given below, show that some theory of Oriental origin for Dighton Rock was in the minds of scholars in 1730; and President Stiles,[3] Colonel Vallancy,[4] Samuel Harris,[5] and others, actively advocated such theories in 1783 and later. We do not know that Mather or Sewall ever thought of Dighton Rock in this connection; but in view of the above cited facts, this theory might well have contributed to Sewall's interest in the Rock.

COTTON MATHER'S DRAWING, 1712

The next contribution to the subject was made again by Cotton Mather. We can most briefly present the circumstances in the words of Professor Kittredge, as given on the first page of his paper cited above. "In November, 1712, Cotton Mather composed a series of thirteen letters on the Natural History of New England and kindred topics. Seven of them were addressed to John Woodward, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Physic at Gresham College, and six to Richard Waller, Esq., Secretary of the Royal Society. All were intended as communications to that learned body. Excerpts from these letters were printed in 1714 in No. 339 of the Philosophical Transactions, — the number designated as 'for the Months of April, May and June.'"[6]

[1] Archæology of the United States, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1856, viii. 5.

[2] i. 122, 192, ii. 155, 163.

[3] The United States elevated to Glory and Honor. A Sermon, Preached . . . At the Anniversary Election, May 8th, 1783.

[4] Observations on the American Inscription. Read February 9, 1786. Archæologia, viii. 302.

[5] First referred to by Edward A. Kendall, in Travels, 1809, ii. 224; and in the Diary (1911, iii. 322–323) of William Bentley under date of October 13, 1807.

[6] To this, Professor Kittredge adds the following footnote: "No. 339 of the Philosophical Transactions has the colophon, '*London*, Printed for W. INNYS, at the *Princes'-Arms* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*. 1714.' It was afterwards assembled with other numbers to make up 'Vol. XXIX. For the Years 1714, 1715, 1716,' which was issued as a whole in 1717. The excerpts are on pp. 62–71. They bear the title, '*An Extract of several Letters from* Cotton Mather, *D.D. to* John Woodward, *M.D. and* Richard Waller, *Esq.*; S. R. Secr.' The Letter-Book of the Royal Society (M. 2. 34) contains this article (as printed in the Transactions) in MS., prepared for the press (Gay MS., fols. 151–168)."

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Among the curiosities of which Mather made mention in these letters, Dighton Rock was included. I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for a transcript of Mather's original words on this subject:

At o^r *Taunton* by the side of a Tiding River, part in, part out, of the River, there stands a large Rock; on the perpendicular side of which Rock next the River, there are seven or eight Lines, seven or eight foot long, and about a foot wide, each of them in unaccountable characters. It is generally taken for granted, that they are Artificial; and there they stand *Graven in the Rock forever;* but no man as yett has been a Zaphnath Poaneah enough to know any more what to make of them, than *who* it was that *graved* them. I have not yett been able to gett all ye Lines; which, I hope, ere long I shall, when they will be at your Service. But will here give you the two first of them.[1]

The substance of this communication, but not its exact wording, was printed in Philosophical Transactions, No. 339, 1714, XXIX. 70, 71; and the drawing was reproduced as Fig. 8 on a plate containing a number of other illustrations.[2] It is reproduced from a

[1] In further explanation, Professor Kittredge has kindly written to me as follows: "This is Mather's communication, addressed to Richard Waller, Sec'y of the Royal Society, preserved in the Society's Letter-Book M. 2. 21. 32 (written Nov. 28, 1712). My copy is from a transcript made from the Letter-Book for F. L. Gay of Brookline. It was from this letter that the report in Phil. Trans. No. 339 (for Apl.–June, 1714), vol. xxix, was made. At the end of this letter in the Letter-Book a part of the page is cut away. This cut-off bit obviously contained the inscription reproduced as Fig. 8 in the plate in Phil. Trans. . . . It does not appear that he ever made any further communication to the Royal S. on the subject. I have studied his subsequent communications (unprinted) very carefully, and have found nothing about the Rock. These communications were continued, at intervals, for several years. The latest were sent in 1724."

[2] There are at least two abridgments of the early numbers of the Philosophical Transactions. The one by Hutton, Shaw and Pearson, 1809, vi. 85, gives portions of Mather's contributions, but omits altogether the reference to Dighton Rock. Philosophical Transactions, abridged by Henry Jones, volume v, 1700–1720, part ii, published in 1721, gives Mather's letters more fully. His text concerning the rock is on p. 165; and his drawing of the inscription is given in Figure 72, on Plate VIII, opposite p. 190. The text is almost, but not quite identical, with that of the original in No. 339.

In case there should be any interest in comparing Mather's actual letter with the Philosophical Transactions, we present the latter's statement in full:

In the next place, he gives an account of a strange Inscription found on a Rock, in these Words. *At* Taunton, *by the side of a Tiding River, part in part out of the River, there is a large Rock, on the perpendicular side of which, next to the Stream, are 7 or* 8 *Lines, about 7 or* 8 *Foot long, and about a Foot wide, each of them ingraven with*

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photostatic copy in Plate IV. Its "first line" is similar to that of 1690, and was probably derived from it. Whence he obtained the "second line" we cannot even plausibly surmise. It bears practically no resemblance whatever to anything now on the rock or ever represented as being there. One is strongly tempted to suspect that it was somehow evolved out of Mather's own "inner consciousness," and that he afterward forgot the fact. Still, after very careful study and comparison I have been able to form a bold and most uncertain guess as to what portions of the rock are meant to be represented by the different parts of the drawing.[1] I am inclined to believe, therefore, that it is the work of some extraordinarily poor draughtsman, who actually tried to copy from the rock. It could hardly have been the same Danforth, who very creditably depicted the "first line." Perhaps it was some unskilled farmer of the neighborhood who supplied it. If my hypothesis as to its correlations with other copies is correct, then it encroaches a little on what is already depicted in the "first line," and it corresponds to practically the whole of the surface of the rock below the "first line," instead of being only the "second line" out of seven or eight, as Mather thought it was.[2]

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unaccountable Characters, not like any known Character. He has not yet been able to procure the whole, which he hopes to be Master of before long, and has herewith sent a Copy of two of them, promising the rest; they are as is represented, *Fig.* 8 (No. 339, xxix. 70–71.)

Jones's Abridgment, p. 165, repeats this with some differences of capitalization, etc. It also omits the phrase "which he hopes to be Master of before long;" changes "and has herewith sent" into "but has sent;" omits "promising the rest;" and changes "they are as represented, *Fig.* 8" into "represented in *Figure* 72."

The "first line" is about 3⅛ inches long in the 1714 cut; the "second line" about ¼ inch longer; and the width of the two together about 1⅝ inches. The cut in the Jones Abridgment is of approximately the same dimensions.

[1] See note on p. 417, below.

[2] Mather's drawing has often been characterized by other writers possessing a first-hand knowledge of the rock, and always unfavorably. I give such examples as my notes afford.

Edward A. Kendall (Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 188): "In the Doctor's second line we are not able to discover a single figure resembling those on the rock, . . . though that part of the rock is at this day filled with figures the most distinct. . . . Dr. Mather, like his successors, toiled in the maze of conjecture;" he "substitutes for figures, at this day as plain as if they had been yesterday inscribed, others, of which it is impossible to recognize a single feature" (pp. 185–186).

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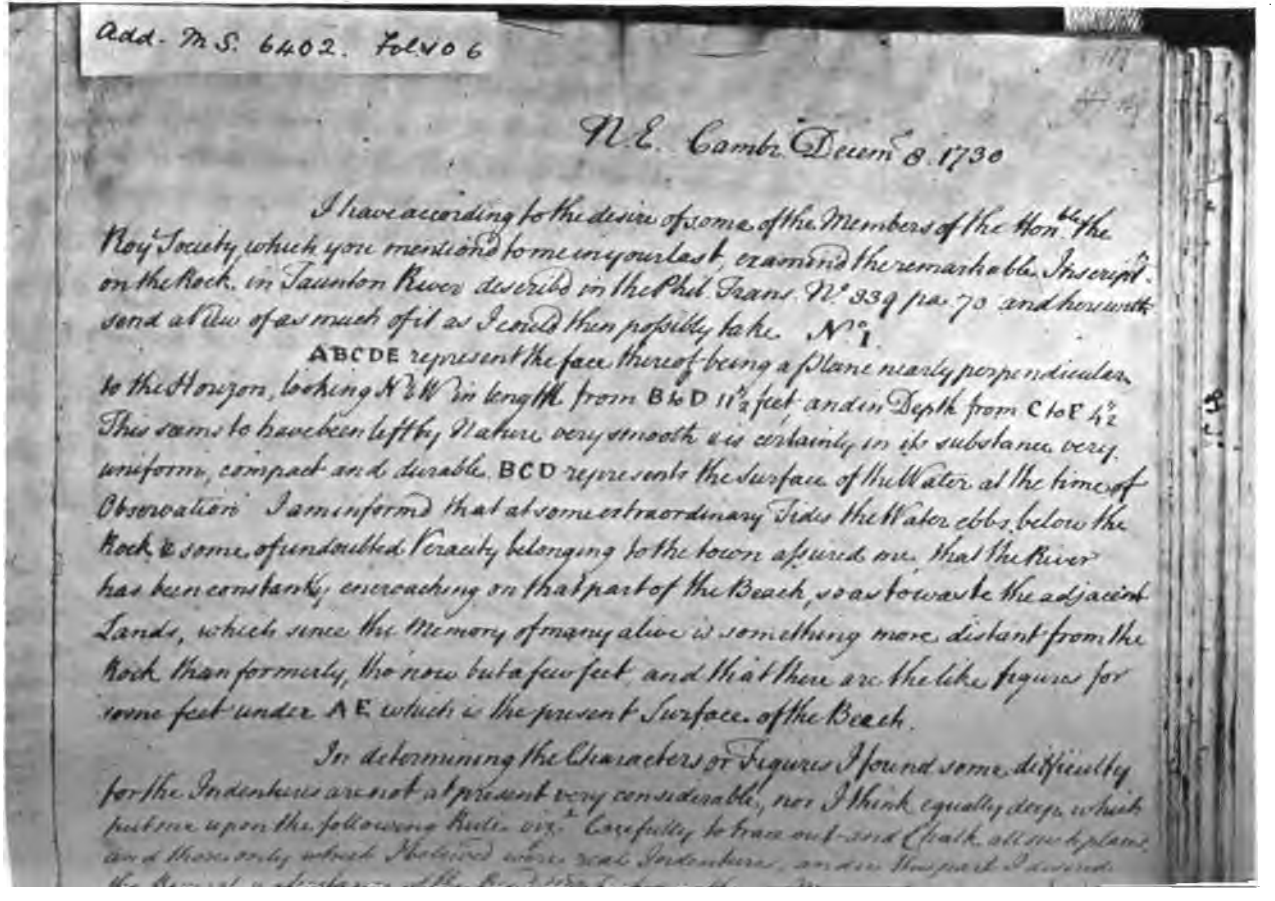


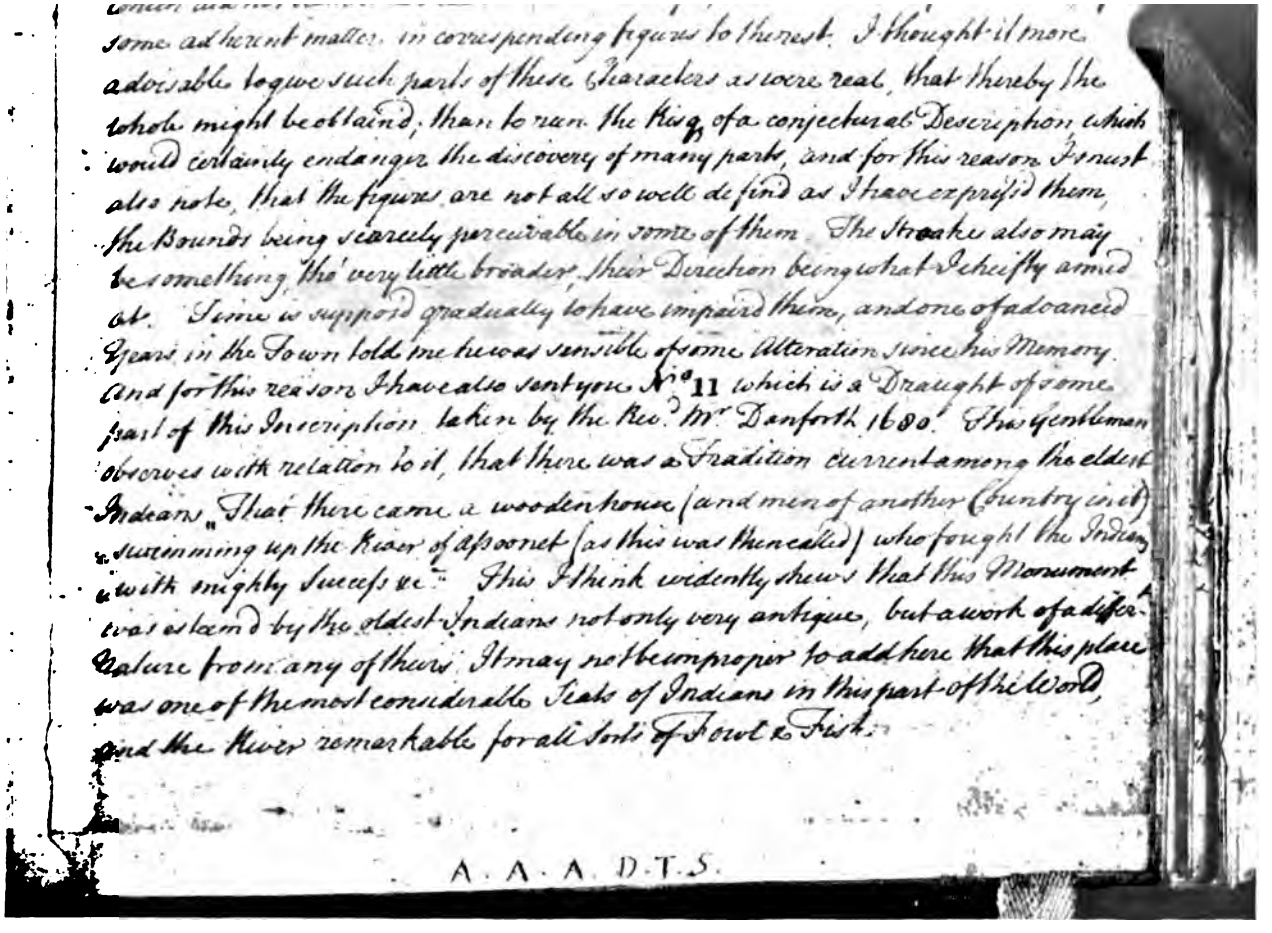
Add. MS. 6402. Fol. 106

N.E. Cambr. Decem. 8. 1730

I have according to the desire of some of the Members of the Hon.ble the Roy.l Society which you mentiond to me in your last, examind the remarkable Inscript.n on the Rock in Taunton River describd in the Phil. Trans. N.o 339 pa. 70 and herewith send a View of as much of it as I could then possibly take. N.o 1.

ABCDE represent the face thereof being a Plane nearly perpendicular to the Horizon, looking N & W in length from B to D 11½ feet and in Depth from C to E 4½ This seems to have been left by Nature very smooth & is certainly in its substance very uniform, compact and durable. BCD represents the Surface of the Water at the time of Observation. I am informd that at some extraordinary Tides the Water ebbs below the Rock & some of undoubted Veracity belonging to the town assured me, that the River has been constantly encroaching on that part of the Beach, so as to waste the adjacent Lands, which since the Memory of many alive is something more distant from the Rock than formerly, tho now but a few feet, and that there are the like figures for some feet under AE which is the present Surface of the Beach.

In determining the Characters or Figures I found some difficulty for the Indentures are not at present very considerable, nor I think equally deep, which put me upon the following Rule viz.t Carefully to trace out and Chalk all such plains and those only which I believed were real Indentures, and in this part I desired the Removal & assistance of the Roy.l Society [illegible]



some adherent matter, in corresponding figures to the rest. I thought it more adviseable to give such parts of these Characters as were real, that thereby the whole might be obtained, than to run the Risq of a conjectural Description which would certainly endanger the discovery of many parts, and for this reason I must also note, that the figures are not all so well defined as I have exprest them, the Bounds being scarcely perceivable in some of them. The Streake also may be something, tho' very little broader, their Direction being what I chiefly aimed at. Time is supposed gradually to have impaired them, and one of a doaneed Years in the Town told me he was sensible of some Alteration since his Memory. And for this reason I have also sent you N.o 11 which is a Draught of some part of this Inscription taken by the Rev.d Mr Danforth 1680. This Gentleman observes with relation to it, that there was a Tradition current among the eldest Indeans "That there came a wooden house (and men of another Country in it) "swimming up the River of Aponnet (as this was then called) who fought the Indians "with mighty Success &c." This I think evidently shews that this Monument was esteem'd by the eldest Indians not only very antique, but a work of a different Nature from any of theirs. It may not be improper to add here that this place was one of the most considerable Seats of Indians in this part of the World, and the River remarkable for all Sorts of Fowl & Fish.

A. A. A. D. T. S.

GREENWOOD LETTER A, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 6402.106

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We can probably approximate very closely to the time when Mather secured this part of his drawing. In his Diary appears the following entry under the date of July 5, 1711: "There is one good Interest, which I have never yett served, and yett I am capable of doing some small Service for it. The Improvement of Knowledge in the Works of Nature, is a Thing whereby God, and his Christ is glorified. I may make a valuable Collection of many Curiosities, which this Countrey has afforded; and present it unto the Royal Society. May the glorious Lord assist me, in this Performance." [1] Dighton Rock had already engaged his attention as a curiosity, over twenty years earlier. Inasmuch as he proceeded to carry out the intention indicated in this passage, it is probable that this was the incitement to his endeavor to procure the remaining portions of the inscription. His interest being again engaged, and his intention to include the Rock among his "Curiosities" fixed, he would probably have sought to obtain the inscription complete after receiving what he understood to be a "second line" only out of many, had he had time before writing his letters. In fact in his letter he indicates his hope to succeed in this. It is fairly safe, therefore, to infer that this "second line" was procured after July 5, 1711, and very likely came to hand only very shortly before November 28, 1712.

Cotton Mather's Broadside

Our next item in natural, and probably also in chronological order, is a very recent and in some respects important discovery. It is a little Broadside of uncertain date, shown in one of our plates. It has never been mentioned in any list of colonial broadsides, nor in any

Hon. John Davis (same volume, p. 197): "Mather's copy is imperfect, and of little or no use."

Samuel F. Haven (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1856, viii. 28): "very rude and inaccurate."

Rev. Charles R. Hale (unpublished manuscript on Dighton Rock, 1865, in possession of American Antiquarian Society): "It is hardly possible to conceive of a more incorrect drawing than Dr. Mather, or the draughtsman employed by him, has given us."

George A. Shove (in Hurd's History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, 1883, p. 250 f): "It bears not the slightest resemblance to the sculptured characters, but appears as if executed by a person having the St. Vitus dance or the *delirium tremens*."

[1] Diary, ii. 85–86.

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discussion on Dighton Rock. Two slightly differing copies of it are known to me. One is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and for a long time this seemed a unique example. But recently I have discovered another among the Stiles papers in the Yale University Library, where it is bound into the collection of unpublished manuscript field-notes by Stiles, called his "Itinerary." The former bears no indication of its date or origin. On the latter, however, Dr. Stiles wrote the following endorsement: "1766 Nov. — Dr Cotton Mather's Acc° sent to the Royal Society, & inserted in their Transactions abr. V. 5. 112. p. 4 Mr Chickly [1] shewing me this in fall of 1766 first excited my Curiosity to examine the Rock." The latter being a more perfect copy, is the one that I reproduce.[2] The two are not identical. In the first, the cut of the inscription is printed below the descriptive matter; in the second, the position of the two is reversed. Hence either two separate editions of it were issued, or the printing of the one edition was interrupted, and resumed for some reason with the two portions in reversed positions. That the latter is more probable, appears from the fact that the type of the reading matter is identical, letter for letter and space for space — there are individual peculiarities about some of the letters that render this certain — and the individual types of the border likewise correspond exactly; hence the type remained set up in its original form instead of being distributed in the interval between the two impressions. The impression in the case of the first is more blurred and imperfect than in the other. Either it was printed later, after the cut and type were much worn, or the inking was less even and perfect. In all other respects the two are alike. The woodcut used was the same. Each is printed on a small piece of irregular shaped "laid" paper with no watermark, measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ to a little over 4 inches in height, and $5\frac{1}{8}$ to $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in width. The "first line" is about $3\frac{3}{32}$ inches long, the extreme width of the two lines is $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch, and the space within the border measures about $1\frac{5}{16}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

It is not impossible that Cotton Mather himself may have issued

[1] William Checkley (H. C. 1756) was an officer of the Customs in Providence, and died July 18, 1780. His widow married Dr. Stiles in 1782. He was son of the Rev. Samuel Checkley (H. C. 1715), first minister of the New South Church in Boston. See Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, i. 58 note; and Providence Gazette Deaths.

[2] Plate V. The "first line" of the other is shown in Plate VI.

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this broadside either before or after his account was printed in Philosophical Transactions in 1714.[1] So great was the interest aroused thereby, that it may well be that he caused this to be printed in order that he might distribute it to all who inquired concerning it. Certainly no adequate motive appears for its issuance at a later date by another person. Whether this be so or not, there is at any rate, even aside from Dr. Stiles's testimony, no question that both words and drawing have Mather as their source. It may be that the particular paper used, or the particular border which surrounds the text, was in use at such a definite and limited time in some particular office of publication as to serve to establish the approximate date. It is certain that it is later than July 5, 1711, and earlier than November, 1766. Though there is no definite proof of it, it is probable that it was issued by Cotton Mather shortly after the appearance of the account in the Transactions in 1714.

It is interesting to compare the cut of the Broadside with the two drawings known to be by Mather. For this reason, besides giving a facsimile of the Broadside in Plate V, I have included the "first line" of the three, together with Danforth's, in Plate VI. The Broadside is placed between the 1690 and the 1712 Mather versions; and in this case is reproduced from the one owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A careful study of the three Mathers line by line and figure by figure, gives many indications that the Broadside is an intermediate form between the other two. It is not safe to venture too confident an assertion in regard to this. But there are so many instances warranting this assumption, and so few that seem to indicate the opposite order of time in their execution, that it seems much more probable that the drawing from which the Broadside was derived antedates that from which the cut in Philosophical Transactions was made, than that the former was copied from the latter. It is possible that Mather had a drawing in 1712, which he copied for the Royal Society, and which he then used directly in the issuance of this Broadside to serve some purpose at home. But this is mere conjecture. Even if we should conclude with entire con-

[1] Broadsides are known of a date earlier than this. See, for example: List of Early American Broadsides, 1680–1800 (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, N. S., xi. 455–516); Weeks and Bacon, Historical Digest of the Provincial Press, 1911, i. 15, 16, 99 n, 219.

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fidence that the drawing of the Broadside is earlier than the other it would not at all settle the question as to when the publication of it was made. It might have been long after, and by another hand. Nevertheless, for reasons already given, this is highly improbable.

The next event in our history is a brief and unimportant quotation from Mather's Philosophical Transactions account, made by Daniel Neal in 1720. He makes a mistake in saying that this letter of Mather's was written to Dr. Woodward. The passage is as follows:

> DR. *Mather* in a Letter to Dr. *Woodward* says, that at *Taunton* by the Side of a Tiding River there is a large Rock appearing above Water, on the perpendicular Side of which next the Stream are seven or eight Lines about seven or eight Foot long, and about a Foot wide, engraven with unaccountable Characters, not like any now known in the World.[1]

DEAN BERKELEY'S VISIT TO THE ROCK

Although it has required a long survey to establish the facts thus far, yet we can see that up to about 1730, nearly a hundred years, probably, after it was first seen by the colonists, very little notice had been taken of Dighton Rock. Only one drawing of the upper part of it existed, made by John Danforth in October, 1680; and only a questionable one of its lower portions, made by some one unknown and so unskilled that it is impossible to be sure that it really represents this Rock, and first known of as in possession of Cotton Mather in November, 1712. Of verbal description, we have only a few words attributed to Danforth, and a very brief and inadequate account by Cotton Mather. The year 1730, or thereabout, brings us three further contributions, all of them important. Two of these we now introduce into the discussion of Dighton Rock for the first time. The other is well known, but even in its case new facts have been discovered which remove a considerable confusion and inaccuracy previously existing. The three incidents referred to are: a visit to the Rock by the Rev. George Berkeley, D.D., then Dean of Derry but temporarily residing in Newport, afterward Bishop of Cloyne and one of the most deservedly eminent of English philosophers; a visit to the Rock and a drawing made of it by John Smibert (or Smybert), one of the earliest of American portrait painters; and

[1] History of New England, ii. 593.

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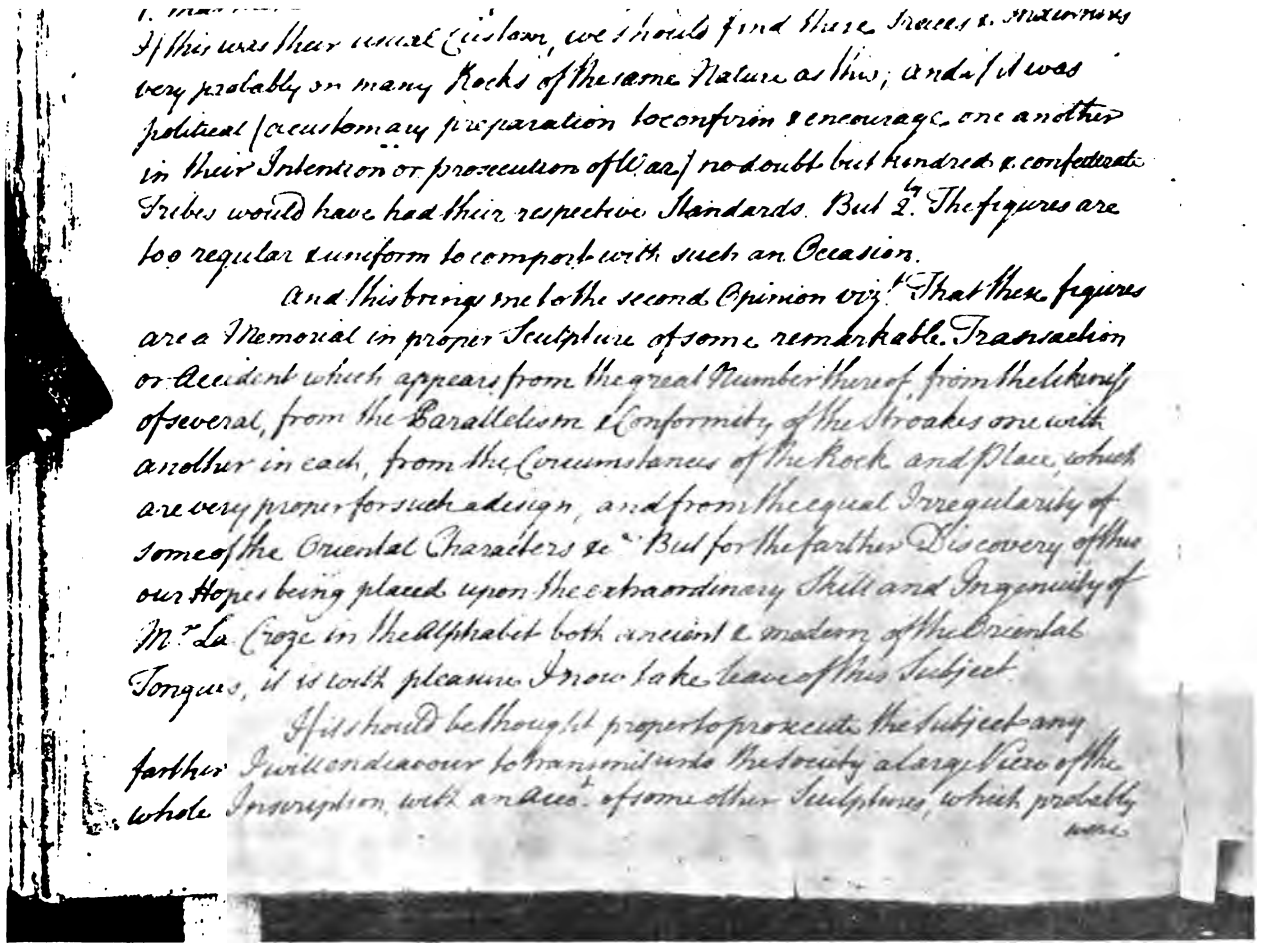
After this description you may expect an Accompt of the Sentiments of some among us relating to this Inscription. Such as look upon it as the work of the Nature are little acquainted with her Operations and have made but a cursory Observation here of Two Opinions prevail most. 1st. That these figures are the undesigning and artless Impressions of some of the Natives, out of mere curiosity or for some particular Use. 2ly. That they are a Memorial in proper Sculpture of some remarkable Transactions or Accident.

That they are not the Effect of mere Curiosity I think is very evident, for 1st. the Natives of this Country were altogether ignorant of Sculpture & the use of Iron, And tho' they had some Stone Instruments, none that ever I have seen, are capable (in much better hands than theirs) of forming so accurate an Inscription, and if they were, 2ly. it is highly probable there would have been in the Neighbourhood or in some other parts of New England other Sketches of the same or a like Nature & Regularity which cannot be pretended. 3ly. One would think their Curiosity would have lead them to the Representation of Birds Beasts, Fishes, Trees &c. which we have since found to be their prevailing Genius, & not to figures quite different from the Objects of their Senses 4ly. They were a Nation too idle & irresolute for a work of so much Industry & apparent Design.

Some think these Sculptures were of particular Use to the Natives in sharpning the Heads of their Arrows, their Axes &c. or at least that they were first formed by such means. [illegible]



If this was their usual Custom, we should find these Traces & Memorials very probably on many Rocks of the same Nature as this; and if it was political (accustomary preparation to confirm & encourage one another in their Intention or prosecution of War) no doubt but Hundred & confederate Tribes would have had their respective Standards. But 2ly The figures are too regular & uniform to comport with such an Occasion.

And this brings me to the second Opinion viz.t That these figures are a Memorial in proper Sculpture of some remarkable Transaction or Accident which appears from the great Number there of, from the likeness of several, from the Barallelism & Conformity of the Strokes one with another in each, from the Circumstances of the Rock and Place, which are very proper for such a design, and from the equal Irregularity of some of the Oriental Characters &c.a But for the farther Discovery of this our Hopes being placed upon the extraordinary Skill and Ingenuity of M.r La Croze in the Alphabet both ancient & modern of the Oriental Tongues, it is with pleasure I now take leave of this Subject.

If it should be thought proper to prosecute the Subject any farther I will endeavour to transmit unto the Society a large View of the whole Inscription, with an Acco.t of some other Sculptures, which probably were

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ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 6402.106 DORSE

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another visit, resulting in a rather indifferent drawing and the first detailed discussion of the Rock, by Isaac Greenwood, "Hollisian Professor of ye Mathematicks and Philosophy" at Harvard College.

I have found three obscure accounts of Berkeley's visit, that have escaped the notice of the biographers of Berkeley and of previous writers on Dighton Rock. One is in a manuscript written by Pierre Eugène du Simitière about 1781;[1] a second in the English Review for 1790; and the third in the unpublished Itinerary of Dr. Ezra Stiles, under date of 1767.

Du Simitière's paper is headed: "Inscriptions in North America." The portion dealing with Dighton Rock is entitled: "Inscription in Massachusetts." After quoting from Neal and Douglass, and speaking of his visit to Dr. Stiles of Newport, he proceeds:

> there is a tradition very current in New England, but particularly at New Port that when the learned Dean Berkeley resided near that last mentioned place about the year 1732[2] he visited the rock at Taunton, and had began an Elaborate dissertation upon the supposed inscription, when a farmer in its neighborhood, observing the Dean one day employed in copying the unknown caracters, informed him, that, that rock had been used formerly by the Indians that resorted thither to Shoot ducks, and dart fish, to wett [whet] and Sharpen the points of their arrows and darts on that Stone which was the cause of the various hollow lines and figures formed thereon.

He then proceeds to refer to Gebelin's Monde Primitif in such a manner as to show that the date of the manuscript is shortly after the publication of its eighth volume in 1781.

The paper by the Rev. Michael Lort, and another on the same subject by Colonel Charles Vallancey, in Archaeologia (1787, viii),

[1] For my first acquaintance with Du Simitière's manuscript I am indebted to Mr. Frederick L. Gay, who sent me his transcript of it. But he inadvertently omitted to give me also its author and source. A reference in the narrative to a visit by the author to the Rev. Dr. Stiles of Newport in 1768 led me to apply to Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, editor of Stiles's Diary, for help; and he kindly suggested that I enquire of the Library Company of Philadelphia to see if Simitière might be the author sought. His surmise was correct, and the manuscript is No. 1412 Quarto in possession of the Library Company.

In Drake's Dictionary of American Biography is the following brief account of the writer: "Pierre Eugène du Simitière, painter and antiquary, b. Geneva; d. Phila. 1788. A.M. of N. J. Coll. 1781. . . . He was an ardent patriot and a well-informed man, and collected materials for a Hist. of the Amer. Revolution."

[2] This date is evidently inaccurate, since Berkeley left America in 1731.

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were reviewed in the English Review for March, 1790. Concerning Berkeley's visit to the Rock, the reviewer says:

In May 1728 the late Bishop Berkeley, that great and good man, went over to Boston. From thence he made an excursion, in order to examine these *written mountains*[1] of America. He went to the rock. He examined

[1] The valley known as the Wady Mukatteb, near Mount Sinai in Arabia, is lined with rocks and cliffs "engraved with ancient unknown characters." These were called the "written mountains," and were arousing interest and speculation in England analogous to that devoted to Dighton Rock, during the period under discussion. Among the earliest writers who mention them, according to Léon de Laborde (Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai, 2nd ed., 1838, p. 259), were Belon, Neitzchitz, Monconys and Kirscha; but they attracted little attention. In 1706, however, Montfaucon published a French translation of the Topographia Christiana of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a writer of the sixth century, who believed that the children of Israel, during their forty years of wandering in the wilderness, made these inscriptions, "which have been preserved to this present time, as I suppose, for the sake of unbelievers." In 1722 they were seen by the prefect of the Franciscan monastery at Cairo, who thought it probable that "these unknown characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ." His manuscript Journey from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai was translated into English in 1753 by Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, who was so confident that confirmation of the truth of the Biblical narrative of the Exodus would be derived from this source that he offered the sum of £500 toward defraying the expenses of anyone who would visit and copy them.

Such expectations were gradually abandoned, however, as the inscriptions became better known. They were visited, and some of them described and pictured, by Dr. Richard Pococke (Description of the East, 1743, i. 148), and by the eccentric Edward Wortley Montagu (Philosophical Transactions, 1766, lvi. 40–57; Gentleman's Magazine, 1767, xxxvii. 374, 401: cf. Nichols's Illustrations, 1812, iv. 625–656). The Rev. Thomas Harmer contributed to the discussion in his Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture, 2nd ed., 1776, ii. 142–153. Karsten Niebuhr went to the place in 1762, "although convinced that the wonderful part of the story of that mountain was perfectly imaginary," and reported: "The marvelous part of this discovery by degrees disappeared; and the sanguine hopes which had been built upon it, vanished. . . . Those who examined them the most accurately, concluded . . . that they related nothing more than the names of travellers, and the dates of their journies" (Reisebeschreibung von Arabien, 1772; English translation 1792, i. 200–207).

This opinion seems to have been generally accepted. The writers in the English Review and in the Gentleman's Magazine who reviewed Lort's paper of 1787, were both so impressed by the commonplace outcome of these wonder-tales, that they regarded Dighton Rock as an empty marvel of the same kind. The latter says: "After the disappointment at the *written mountain*, one would not have thought the learned would have run after any more mountain scrawls" (1787, lvii. 699).

It was not until much later that the "unknown characters" were actually de-

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the inscription. And, as we well remember to have been told by his ingenious and religious widow, the late Mrs. Berkeley, he returned fully convinced that this reputed scrawl of the present Indians, this boasted inscription of Punick, of Phœnician, or of Tartar hands [1] *was merely the casual corrosion of the rock by the waves of the sea.* With this opinion, unknown as it appears to have been to Dr. Lort, we cordially concur.[2]

After reading this review, Dr. Lort wrote to the Rev. Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, as follows:

Saville Row, April 16, 1790. . . . Now comes a reviewer in the last "English," and says, we are mistaken; that the late Bishop Berkeley went on purpose to see it, and found it the work of the wind, waves, and weather corroding the rock, and I am very much disposed to be of this hypothesis; but what will Colonel Vallancey say to it? However, I shall try to get a more authentic account of this opinion of Bishop Berkeley's.[3]

This is all that we know in detail as to Dean Berkeley's visit; though we have one more confirmatory authority to cite. The two accounts do not agree concerning his theory about the Rock. But they are in agreement as to the fact of his having seen it; and the reference to Mrs. Berkeley makes it very probable that the story is true in this respect at least. The plausibility of the event is further increased by the fact that we know on the authority of Fraser,[4] and of the Biographia Britannica,[5] that during his stay in Newport Dean Berkeley made many visits to neighboring places. Thus Fraser says: "We learn, on Mrs. Berkeley's authority, that

ciphered, and the opinion confirmed that their content was utterly trivial. The first success in this was due to Eduard Friedrich Ferdinand Beer (Inscriptiones . . . ad Montem Sinai, 1840). Suggestions as to later research and discussion can be found in the Princeton Review, 1870, xlii. 533, in Biblical encyclopaedias under the heading of "Sinaitic Inscriptions," and in numerous books of travel.

[1] These remarks refer to theories which in 1790 had recently been promulgated by President Stiles, Court de Gebelin, Vallancey and others.

[2] English Review, xv. 180–182.

[3] J. B. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, 1848, vii. 504–506. Professor Kittredge gave me this reference and it was the clue to my discovery of the English Review.

[4] Life and Letters of George Berkeley, 1871, p. 161. But compare what Fraser says later: "It is not to be supposed, however, that Berkeley travelled extensively in America, his knowledge of that country from personal observation was limited to a narrow region" (p. 162).

[5] Biographia Britannica, vol. vi. pt. ii. 1766, Supplement, p. 16, Note I: "He was indefatigable in pastoral labours throughout New England."

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'when the season and his health permitted, he visited the Continent [of America] not only in its outward skirts but penetrated far into its recesses.'" Moreover, the theory which Du Simitière represents Berkeley as accepting so readily is one related by Greenwood in 1730 as actually current at the time, as we shall see in our later discussion of Greenwood's contribution.

These probabilities are turned into certainty by the testimony of Dr. Stiles, whose knowledge was derived from one who was probably an actual witness of Berkeley's visit. On June 5th and 6th, 1767, Dr. Stiles, then minister at Newport, made a visit to the Rock. He records the fact on page 280 of his Itinerary, an unpublished manuscript in possession of the Yale University Library. The passage reads as follows:

Was taken off first by Dr. Cotton Mather. Then by Professor Greenwood. — Lastly by Dean Berkley. Greenw^{d} took the whole; the other two but half. Teste Benj Jones aet. 70 Owner of the Rock.

This Benjamin Jones came into possession of the land on which the Rock stands in 1720.[1] He dwelt on the property, and died there in 1768.[2] That he personally saw both Berkeley and Greenwood when they severally came to copy the inscription is rendered plausible by the fact that "a farmer in its neighborhood" told Berkeley about the rock being used by the Indians in sharpening their arrowheads, and Greenwood relates the same legend. It is very likely that both learned of it from the same source, and that Benjamin Jones was the "farmer" in question. His knowledge of Mather, however, would have been by hearsay only, and the fact that he said the latter had copied only half the inscription seems to show that he confused him with Danforth. Stiles himself, of course, knew of Mather's description; but that he knew nothing of either Danforth or Greenwood, whose drawings were not published until 1787, is shown by the following passage in a letter[3] which he wrote on June 15, 1767, to Professor John Winthrop: "Mr. Jones . . . told me, the whole was formerly decyphered or taken off by Mr Professor Greenwood your Predecessor. If, Sir, his drawing be in your hands, or in possession of the College, pray oblige me with a pencil'd copy."

[1] Bristol County, Massachusetts, N. District, Land Records, Book 13, p. 258.
[2] Ibid. Probate Records, Book 20, p. 396.
[3] In the Stiles Collection, Library of Yale University.

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[illegible] and his health permitted, he visited the [illegible] [illegible] outward skirt [illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] the theory which Du [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] by Greenwood [illegible] [illegible] time, as we shall see in our later [illegible] [illegible]ation.

[illegible] turned into certainty by the testi[illegible] [illegible] knowledge was derived from one who was [illegible] an actu[illegible] [illegible] Berkeley's visit. On June 5th and [illegible] Dr. [illegible] at Newport, made a visit to the [illegible] [illegible] p. 250 of his Itinerary, an unpublished [illegible] script [illegible] of the Yale University Library. The [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] by Dr. [illegible] Mather. Then by Prof[illegible] w[illegible] Dean Berkeley. Greenw^d took [illegible] [illegible] t. The Owner of the Rock.

[illegible] into possession of the land [illegible] [illegible] dwelt on the property, and [illegible] [illegible] saw both Berkeley and [illegible] [illegible] accepts the inscription is [illegible] [illegible] in his neighborhood" [illegible] [illegible] the Indians in sharpening [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. It is [illegible] [illegible] the same source, and [illegible] [illegible] question. His knowledge of Mat[illegible] [illegible] hearsay only, and the fact that he [illegible] [illegible] half the inscription seems to show [illegible] [illegible]. Stiles himself, of course, [illegible] Mathe[illegible] [illegible] but he knew nothing of either [illegible] or Gree[illegible] [illegible] drawings were not published until 17[illegible] [illegible] shown by [illegible] in a letter[3] which he wrote on [illegible] 15, 1767, to [illegible] Winthrop: "Mr. Jones [illegible] taki[illegible] the whole [illegible] form [illegible] or taken off by Mr Prof^r Greenwood your Predecessor. [illegible] Sir, his drawing [illegible] or in possession of the [illegible] with a pencil [illegible]

[illegible] Mass[illegible], N. [illegible], Land Records, Book 13, [illegible]
[illegible] Probate Records, B[illegible]
[3] [illegible] Stiles Collection, Library of Yale University.

were the work of some modern Indians. And this I esteem but a just Debt to that illustrious Body, who have improved in so eminent a manner every Branch of humane Literature. I

I am &c.

Isaac Greenwood
Hollisian Professor at
N. Cambridge

Some take this Inscription to be Hieroglyphical, thinking that in N.2. the first figure represents a Ship without Mast and a mere Wreck cast up the Shoals. The second representing an Head of Land possibly a Cape with a Peninsula. Hence a Gulf (This according to Mr. Dainforth.)

GREENWOOD LETTER A, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 6402.107

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All of this renders it highly probable, therefore, that Jones had personal knowledge of Berkeley's visit, and makes his testimony practically conclusive as to the fact of the visit and the truth of Du Simitière's account of it. It adds the further fact that Berkeley copied about half of the inscription.

It is impossible to fix the exact date of the incident; but it must have been, of course, some time between his landing at Newport on January 23, 1729, in furtherance of his project to found a college for the education of Indian youths in the Bermudas, and the time of his abandonment of that project and departure for England on September 21, 1731.[1]

John Smibert and the Rock

That so gifted an artist as John Smibert made an early drawing of Dighton Rock is, if true, a fact of the highest importance. We have knowledge of it only through the same manuscript of Du

[1] All authorities agree as to the date of Berkeley's arrival at Newport. Dr. Fraser, however, his chief biographer, incorrectly names the Boston newspaper in which this event was announced. Benjamin Rand (Berkeley and Percival, 1914, p. 37) corrects the error, stating that both the Boston Gazette of January 27, 1729, and the New England Weekly Journal of February 3, 1729, make mention of the fact. The latter speaks of him as "Dean *Barkley* of *Londonderry*." It is interesting to note that the pronunciation of his name thus indicated persisted for some time in New England. In 1750 an inventory was filed in Taunton, of an estate in Berkley, a neighboring town that had been named in honor of the Dean. The original instrument spells the name correctly; but the clerk who copied it into the Probate Records (Book 12, p. 158) gives it as "Bartley."

The date of Berkeley's departure for England has not yet found its way into his biographies. Even Rand fails to give it. Previous approximations have been based on a statement by Berkeley, in a letter dated September 7, 1731, that "I am now on the point of setting out for Boston, in order to embark for England" (Life and Letters, 1871, p. 188). Mr. Matthews has recently discovered that the exact day of sailing is shown by an entry in the Weekly Rehearsal of Monday, September 27: "Last Tuesday the Rev. Dean *Berkley* embark'd in *Curling* for London" (p. 4/2). The discovery seems to have been first made, however, by Mr. William E. Foster of Providence. In a paper on Some Rhode Island Contributions to the Intellectual Life of the Last Century, read before the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1892, he says: "The exact date, only roughly conjectured hitherto, even in the biography by Dr. Fraser, is found to have been September 21, 1731, through an entry under that date in an unpublished diary of Benjamin Walker. This manuscript is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society" (Proceedings, viii. 103–132, 123 n). The entry in the Diary reads: "Dean Barclay saild in Curlin for London with family."

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Simitière that has already been referred to. In a footnote to the passage already quoted, the writer adds:

there was in the collection of Doctor Smibert at Boston, an accurate drawing of the Supposed inscription at Taunton, done by his father John Smibert an eminent painter that came over to america with Dean Berkeley, and afterwards Settled at Boston.

This is a meagre and tantalizing record. If this drawing could be found, it would be for many reasons the most interesting and important of all. Considering the incompleteness of the Danforth drawing, the utter badness of Mather's, and the incompleteness and poor artistic merit of Greenwood's, it doubtless would be the earliest good delineation of the characters made. But search in many directions has failed to discover it, and no writer on the Rock has known of its existence.

A report that I read somewhere to the effect that the Boston Smiberts later removed to England led me to make inquiries as to present-day families of that name. I found one such family now living in Scotland, and another in Australia. Letters to both of them received courteous replies. But neither of them know of the existence of the drawing in question.

However, John Smibert died in Boston, and so apparently did all his children, of whom he is known to have had four.[1] An inven-

[1] For the birth-dates and names of his children, see Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 205, 209, 214, 218. Two of these records are inexact, as indicated in later footnotes. For the main facts known concerning John Smibert, see especially W. Dunlap, History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, 1834, i. 27–31. Horace Walpole (Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1771) says that Smibert was born in Edinburgh about 1684, and died in March, 1751, leaving a widow and two children. The date of death was actually April 2, 1751, as is proved by obituary notices in the Boston News Letter for April 4, and in the Boston Evening Post for April 8, 1751. Another item of interest which seems to have escaped the notice of the biographers of Smibert is the following advertisement, which appeared in the Boston News Letter of October 17, 1734:

John Smibert, *Painter*,

SELLS all Sorts of Colours, dry or ground, with Oils and Brushes, Fanns of several Sorts, the best Metzotinto, Italian, French, Dutch and English Prints, in Frames and Glasses, or without, by Wholesale or Retail, at Reasonable Rates; at his House in Queen-Street, *between the Town-House and the Orange-Tree,* Boston (p. 2/2).

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tory of the estate left by him, dated September 22, 1752, is on file,[1] and makes no mention of the drawing that we seek. His real estate all went to his eldest son, Dr. Williams Smibert, who must have been the "Dr. Smibert" referred to by Du Simitière. In his own will, dated January 17, 1770, and proved January 28, 1774, he describes himself as a "Doctor in Physick," and as the "last that survives" his parents and their offspring.[2] Williams Smibert's estate was willed to his cousin, John Moffat; and through other steps we can trace the descent of whatever may have been left of John Smibert's property in this line to people of still other names.[3] In all this course, there is no clue to the fate of the drawing.

However, another son, Nathaniel, also survived the father for a few years. He was born January 20, 1735,[4] and died in Boston, November 3, 1756.[5] Before his death he, too, had become a painter

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Queen Street is the present Court Street. The Orange Tree stood on the northerly corner of Hanover and Court Streets: see Memorial History of Boston, i. 548, vol. ii. pp. xiv (Plan B, no. 30), xvii, 452. For the site of Smibert's house, see ibid. vol. ii. pp. xiv (Plan B, no. 33), xviii.

[1] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 9822.

[2] His death, on January 18, 1774, was noticed in all the Boston newspapers. The Boston Records give the date of his birth as January 29, 1732; but this is probably incorrect, for his sister Allison was born only eight and a half months before. He apparently entered the Boston Public Latin School in 1743, and its Catalogue (1886) discussed his name (which is commonly given as William) and his birth-date as follows: "The record [on the Town Records] is plainly Jan., but the date of baptism at the Old South, 2 July, renders it possible that the copyist has mistaken u for a, and that it should read Jun. The record of baptism gives the name as Williams, which being the family name of his mother, is very likely correct" (p. 62 note 10). See also Suffolk Probate Files, No. 15549.

[3] These facts are taken, and can be amplified, from Nathaniel I. Bowditch's manuscript Records of Land Titles, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Liber 14, pp. 257, 258. See also 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 208; Suffolk Probate Files, No. 16410.

[4] The date of Nathaniel Smibert's birth is always given as January 20, 1734. But inasmuch as a brother was born November 24, 1733, this date must be Old Style, and Nathaniel's birth was in 1735. For the few facts known concerning his life, see: W. Dunlap, History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, i. 31; Scribner's Cyclopedia of Painters and Painting, 1887, iv. 192; and the next note.

[5] "Yesterday Afternoon died here in the 22d Year of his Age Mr. *Nathaniel Smibert*, an ingenious young Gentleman, greatly esteemed by all that knew him" (Boston News Letter, November 4, 1756, p. 2/2). This passage corrects the usually given date of his death (November 8), as well as supporting the above correction as to his date of birth. Long obituary notices appeared in the Boston

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of promise, and it may be that the father's paintings and drawings, some of which are known to have been left in the studio, became his property.[1] The statement of Du Simitière, however, makes it improbable that the drawing of Dighton Rock was among those that remained in the studio after Nathaniel died.

We must regretfully leave the subject of Smibert in this disappointing condition. I have thought it worth while to mention all the clues in my possession, in the hope that some one else may follow them out to a successful issue. The time of Smibert's visit would very likely have been in 1729, since he arrived in Newport with Berkeley in January of that year and left there for Boston late in the same year. This is the most probable period for his visit to the rock.

There is one other report concerning Smibert which, while it has nothing to do with his drawing, nevertheless shows his interest in the Indians, and has served as an item of evidence for one theory concerning the origin of the Dighton inscription. The facts are first related, so far as I know, by Dr. Stiles in his Election Sermon of 1783.[2] But they are most fully given in the following account written by Josiah Meigs to Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill:

> The question relative to the first peopling of this continent, has justly excited the attention of reflecting men. I have often heard the late excellent Doctor Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, relate the following anecdote: When Doctor Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, arrived at Newport, in Rhode-Island, about the middle of the last century, with a view of establishing a seminary of learning in America, he had with him, as a

Gazette of November 8, p. 2/2; and in the Boston News Letter of November 11, p. 3/2.

[1] As there is a bare possibility that the drawing may have been left in the studio and shared the fate of the other drawings and paintings that were there, I cite a few items that I have noted. In the work above referred to, Dunlap says on p. 351 that John Trumbull, when painting in Boston between 1777 and 1779, occupied the room which had been built by Smibert, in which remained many of his works. See also John Trumbull's Autobiography, 1841, p. 49; Suffolk Probate Records, lxxxiv. 554–556. Mr. Charles H. Hart of New York informs me that some of Smibert's paintings were still in the studio as late as the first decade of the last century. For further hints as to the use of Smibert's studio or of the site on which it stood, and thus possibly as to the fate of its contents, see Memorial History of Boston, iv. 384; S. A. Drake's Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston, 1873, 72–74.

[2] The United States elevated to Glory and Honor, New Haven, 1783.

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GREENWOOD LET

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FRO

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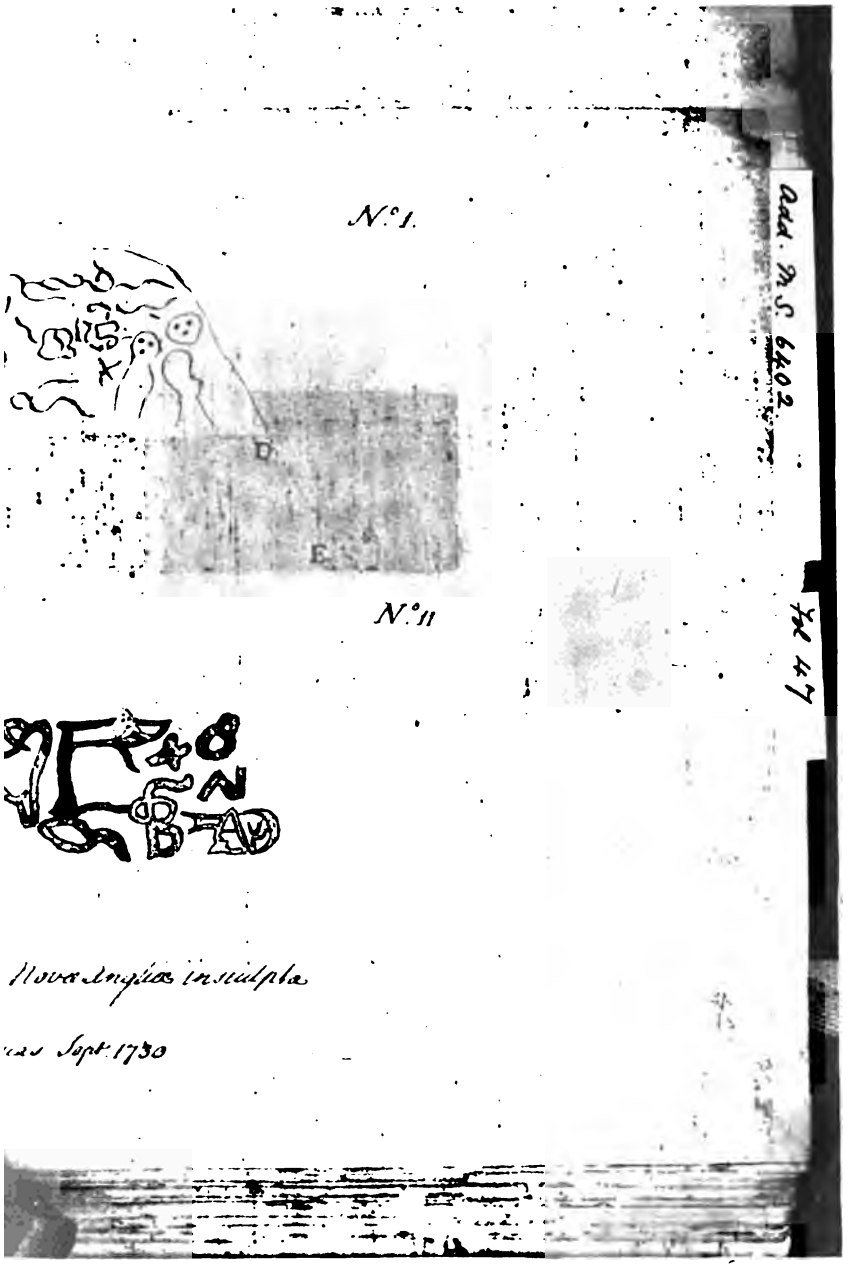
PLATE XI



A. DECEMBER 8, 1730

ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 6402.47

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companion and friend, a Mr. Smibert, a celebrated painter of the Flemish school. In a few days after their arrival, Mr. Smibert saw in the streets a number of Narraganset Indians. At the first sight of them he expressed great surprise, and asked how those Tartars came there? On being asked why he called them Tartars, he replied, that, some years before, when he was at Florence studying his profession, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had received, as a present from the Sovereign of Russia, several Tartars, who had been taken prisoners: that he, Mr. Smibert, had been employed in drawing their portraits; and that their features were so much like those of the Narragansett Indians, that he was perfectly confident that they were of the same family and race.

I need not observe, that a painter's business is to observe, with the most minute accuracy, the features of the human face, and that the conjecture of a migration of Tartars from the Eastern shores of Asia to our Northwestern region, is considerably strengthened by this anecdote.[1]

Isaac Greenwood's Drawing, 1730

We reach at last the final source of information concerning Dighton Rock during the period with which we are dealing. When I first approached this subject, there seemed every reason to believe that our information concerning Isaac Greenwood and his important contribution was practically complete. As has been shown in dealing with the question of Danforth, Lort had quoted extensively from Greenwood and depicted his drawing; Bushnell had found Greenwood's original letter and reproduced it fully, with a photograph of its drawings; and Baxter had given a small item of further information. But a little further inquiry showed a remarkable amount of uncertainty and confusion. Baxter's quotation seemed to indicate an unexploited source of information. Various indexes to the Manuscripts in the British Museum seemed to give conflicting data. Dates were given variously; several different recipients of the letter were indicated; the British Museum references, if all of them were correct, implied a wealth of unused material.

The puzzling degree of confusion that actually existed can be exhibited best by a survey of all the facts concerning Greenwood's contribution that were accessible in print. These will be presented in the chronological order of their publication.

[1] Medical Repository, 1811, Third Hexade, ii. 176. Dr. Mitchill mentions the incident again in Archæologia Americana, 1820, i. 327.

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1. The Catalogue by Samuel Ayscough,[1] 1782, mentions Greenwood's letters twice, as follows:

Volume I, p. 355: "4432.55. James Greenwood. Inscriptions in New England, 1730, 1732."

Volume I, p. 450: "J. Greenwood. 4432.55. Inscriptions in New England. 1730–32."

2. The Rev. Michael Lort,[2] in 1787, was the first to publish either the whole or a portion of a letter from Greenwood, together with the drawings accompanying it. The account referred to by Ayscough was already in the British Museum. Lort, however, did not discover it, but took his version from the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London for the year 1732. He says that the letter was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Villan, Rector of St. John's Tothill-fields, and submitted to the Society of Antiquaries in 1732 by Mr. Bogdani. Its date was 1730.

3. Madden's Index[3] of 1849 has this entry: "Greenwood (Isaac), Hollesian Professor at N. Cambridge. Letter concerning an inscription on a rock in the river Taunton, in New England, etc., 1730. 6402. ff. 44, 112."

[1] "A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed: consisting of five thousand volumes, including the collections of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. the Rev. Thomas Birch D.D. and about Five Hundred Volumes bequeathed, presented, or purchased at various Times," London, 1782. I owe the facts concerning this Catalogue to Professor Kittredge, who explains further: "From Ayscough's Preface (i. p. iv.) it appears that nos. 4101–4478 in his Catalogue are from the collections of Birch. Only nos. 1–4100 are Sloane MSS. In the present numeration in the British Museum, the Add'l MSS. begin with 4101. . . . 4432 (the Catalogue's number for Greenwood) is the number of the MS. (now called Add'l. MS. 4432); 55 is the number of the *article* or *division* of the MS. Ayscough makes 86 divisions or articles (1–86) in this MS. 4432." In connection with statements made below, it should be noted that this no. 4432 (now Add. MSS. 4432) is in the collection of Birch, not of Sloane. We shall later identify this reference with two letters of different dates by Isaac Greenwood, still in the British Museum, catalogued under slightly different numbers; and shall see that the "James" Greenwood was an error due to the fact that the letters were signed "Is." and "I." Greenwood, respectively.

[2] Account of an antient Inscription in North America. Read November 23, 1786. In Archæologia, viii. 290–301. The same or a similar letter was later published in full by Bushnell, as discussed below.

[3] F. Madden, "Index to the Additional Manuscripts, with those of the Egerton Collection, preserved in the British Museum, and acquired in the years 1783–1835," 1849. This might prove to be a correct reference for the time when it was made, though incorrect now, on account of a change in the folio numbers.

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4. James Phinney Baxter,[1] in 1887 and 1889, gives a brief quotation, evidently from Greenwood or from some one who gives a similar account of Danforth's opinions. He does not name the writer, but it might be inferred from what he says that it was the Rev. Mr. Fisher. The letter was addressed, he says, to Sir Hans Sloane, bears the date December 18, 1730, and is in the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum. It is accompanied by drawings. His quotation contains one sentence ("they slew y^{r} Saunchim") not found in Lort's version of Greenwood. It seems most probable, however, that the writer is Greenwood, and that either Lort omitted this sentence or it is a second letter from the same hand.

5. Scott's Index[2] to the Sloane Manuscripts makes no mention of anything by Greenwood, or of the inscription in Taunton River.

6. Andrews and Davenport's Guide[3] of 1908 catalogues a "Communication from Is. Greenwood, Cambridge, Dec. 8, 1730, regarding Inscriptions on the Rock in Taunton River, with two drawings," under Add. MSS. 4432. f. 182.

7. David I. Bushnell[4] in 1908, having found two letters from Greenwood in the British Museum, printed them both in full, with a photographic reproduction of accompanying drawings by Danforth and Greenwood. The manuscripts from which he made his transcripts belonged once to the Royal Society, he tells us, but are now preserved in the British Museum. The first letter bears no address, is dated Dec. 8th, 1730, and signed "Isaac Greenwood," and is numbered Add. MSS. 6402, fol. 106 et seq. It is accompanied by drawings, whose reference number is not mentioned by Bushnell. The second letter is addressed, he says, to Mr John Evanses, Fellow of the Royal Society, and contains words which imply that the first letter was sent to the same person. Its date is April 28, 1732, its signature "J. Greenwood," and its reference number is given inadequately as MS. Vol. 4432, British Museum. We shall discover later that the accuracy of these transcripts cannot be relied upon.

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1887, xli. 414; Early Voyages to America, Collections Old Colony Historical Society, No. 4, 1889, p. 16.

[2] Edward J. L. Scott, Index to the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, 1904.

[3] Charles M. Andrews and Frances G. Davenport, Guide to the manuscript material for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum, p. 73. The reference is correct, but the folio number has been changed.

[4] An Early Account of Dighton Rock, American Anthropologist, x. 251–254.

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Except that it contains much more than was given by Lort, this letter might be the one that was copied in the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries in 1732, from which Lort derived his copy. But if so, either the Antiquaries or Lort transcribed it only in part, and very carelessly. On the other hand, it could not be the same letter as the one quoted by Baxter, unless both Lort and Bushnell omitted the sentence concerning the "Saunchem," or Baxter was mistaken in saying that there was such a sentence in the letter.

8. Although the above is all that I could discover in print, I will add to the list of data on record when my own investigations began the following, from a letter that I received from Mr. Bushnell:

I remember having seen another letter from Greenwood, bearing date Dec. 8, 1730, which, at that time, I regarded as an *early copy* of the one preserved in Vol. 6402, fol. 106 *et seq.* The latter I copied and reproduced in the Anthropologist. Now the "copy" of the letter, if *copy* it really is, was in the volume with the short note of April 28, 1732. . . . I do not know to whom the *copy* was addressed.

To facilitate their readier comprehension, I recapitulate these facts in tabular form. Since it is impossible to tell from them whether there is one letter or more of 1730, sent to one correspondent only or to several different ones, bearing only one date or more, I designate any letter of 1730 as X, without any implication as to their identity. The letter of 1732 I call Y, and the drawings Z. The abbreviation S.A.L. indicates the Society of Antiquaries of London; and B.M., the British Museum. O indicates that nothing is reported.

Authority	Document	Date	To Whom Addressed	Where Preserved
Ayscough	XY	1730–1732	Not mentioned	B.M., 4432.55
Lort	XZ	1730	Rev. Mr. Villan	Minutes S.A.L. 1732
Madden	X	1730	Not mentioned	B.M., 6402, ff. 44,112
Baxter	XZ	Dec. 18, 1730	Sir Hans Sloane	B.M., Sloane MSS
Scott	O	.....	.....	.....
Andrews	XZ	Dec. 8, 1730	Not mentioned	B.M., Add. MSS. 4432. f. 182
Bushnell	X	Dec. 8, 1730	Not given; presumably Mr. John Evanses	B.M., Add. MSS. 6402. f. 106 et seq.
Bushnell	Z	.....	.....	Not mentioned
Bushnell	X	Dec. 8, 1730	Not known	B.M., MS. Vol. 4432
Bushnell	Y	Apr. 28, 1732	Mr. John Evanses	B.M., MS. Vol. 4432

Here are three correspondents mentioned, three dates, and six reference numbers in the British Museum with three others left indefinite. This state of affairs naturally invited investigation.

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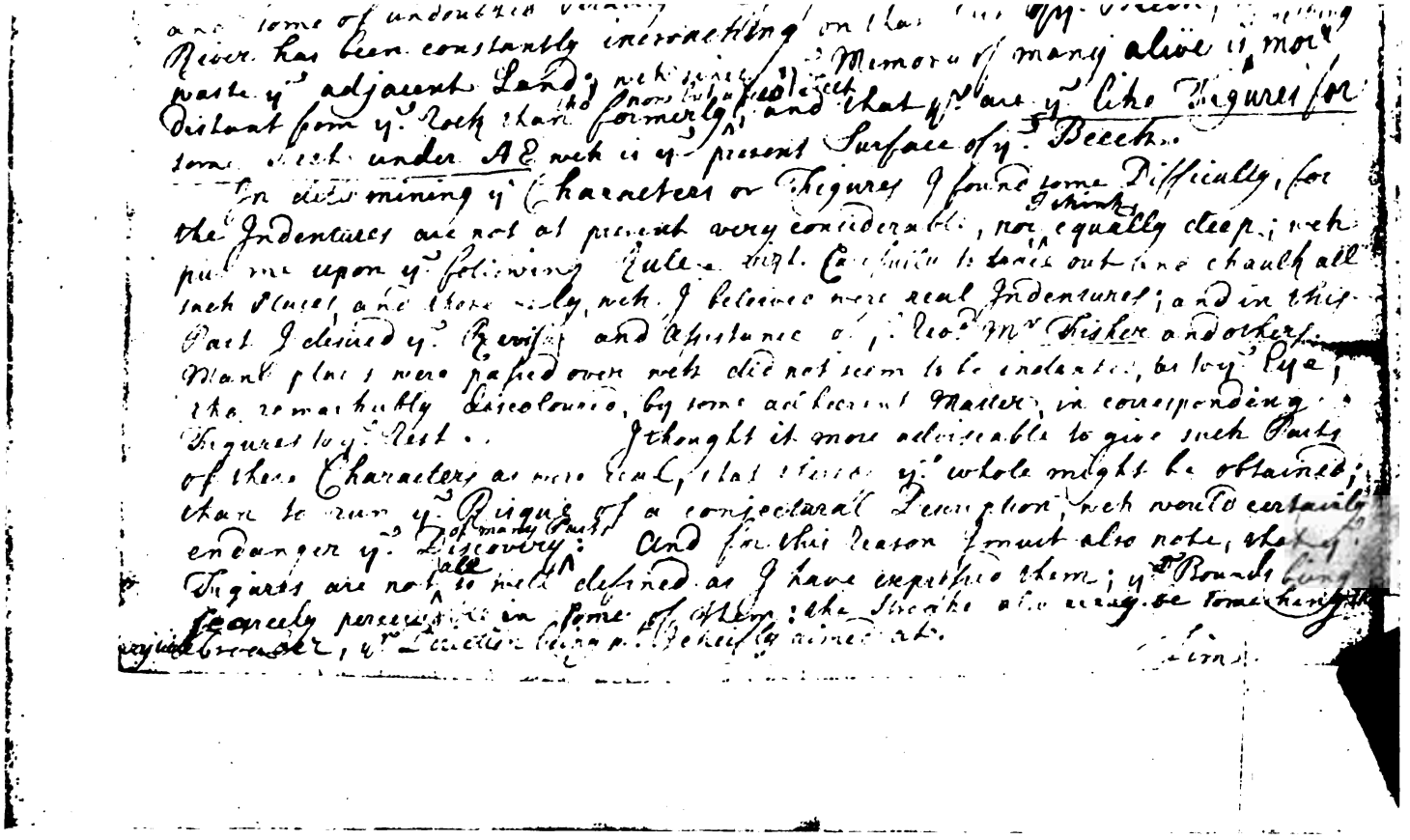
PLATE XII

Worthy Sir,

I have according to ye Desire of some of ye Members of the honourable, ye Royal Society, wch You mentioned to Me in Your last, examined ye remarkable Inscription on ye Rock in Taunton River, described in ye Philosophical Transactions No. 339. p. 70. And herewith send a View of as much of it as I could then possibly take.

ABCD & represent ye Face thereof, being a Plane nearly perpendicular to ye Horizon, looking NbW, in Length from B to D 11½ Feet, and in Depth from C to E, 4½. This seems to have been left by Nature very smooth, and is certainly in its Substance very uniform, compact and durable.

B(C)D represent ye Surface of ye Water at ye Time of Observation. I



GREENWOOD LETTER B, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.185

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Through the kindness of Mr. Albert Matthews, I secured the assistance of a careful worker in the British Museum, to whose efficient labors I am indebted for a complete clarification of the entire problem. Through her, I have had search made for all the Greenwood material in the Museum, and have secured photostats of all that is there; and have had the records of the Royal Society examined. In addition, through the courtesy of Mr. H. S. Kingsford, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I have obtained a transcript of the record in the Minutes of that Society for 1732, and a description of the drawings copied into the Minutes.

Probably the most remarkable fact that we have to record in connection with the inadequacies of previous investigation is that no one has yet correctly named the correspondent to whom Greenwood addressed his letters. The name Villan, given by Lort, was a mistake for Viller, as it stands in the "Minutes," and this name itself is incorrect.[1] The mention of Sloane is due to a mistaken inference. "Evanses" is an incorrect rendering of the actual name, "Eames."

[1] The person referred to was doubtless the Rev. Dr. Villers, and he was not Professor Greenwood's correspondent. His identity seems to be conclusively established by the following notes, which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Matthews:

Tothillfields is in Westminster, and St. John the Evangelist is in Smith Square, Westminster. In the Historical Register, 1736, xxi, Chronological Diary, p. 19, is the following: "Dy'd, . . . The Rev. Dr. *Villers*, Rector of St. *John the Evangelist, Westminster*." This is under February, though no day is specified. On p. 15, under "Preferments," is this: "Dr. *Willis*, Dean of *Lincoln*, to the Rectory of St. *John, Milbank, Westminster*, in the Room of Dr. *Villers*, deceas'd." Millbank Street runs between Smith Square and the Thames, being connected with Smith Square by Church Street.

Even with these definite contemporary statements, however, it seems that the name under discussion must undergo yet another transformation. In a letter dated February 24, 1916, the Ven. Basil Wilberforce, Archdeacon of Westminster, forwards to me the following results of an inquiry made by Mr. J. E. Smith, "who is the antiquary expert of Westminster:" "There was never a Rector of St. John's named Villiers, Villan or Viller. There was, however, a John Villa, who held the rectory for some years, including (so far as I remember) the particular years you mention. In the 'Parochial Memorials of St. John' you will find a reproduction of his signature obtained from the parochial receipts which the Rectors at that time used to give in respect of an allowance secured to them under the local Act. At the time the above mentioned Memorials were compiled every possible source of information was referred to with reference to the Rectors in succession of the Parish, but it happened that the John Villa in question afforded less information in the research than any one of the other Rectors. Such as could be gleaned, however, was incorporated with the Memorials. It was so

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The real facts, mingled with a very small amount of inference that seems entirely justified, can now be related. Some time before December 8, 1730, Professor Greenwood received from Mr. John Eames, a Fellow of the Royal Society, a letter stating that some of the members of the Royal Society, interested by Cotton Mather's description in the Philosophical Transactions of 1714, wished to secure a new copy of the inscription on the rock in Taunton River.[1] Accordingly, Greenwood visited the Rock and copied its inscription. He already had in his possession, or now obtained, either the original or a copy of Danforth's drawing of 1680, and a slip of paper — whether written by Danforth, by himself, or by some one else, it is impossible to say — containing Danforth's brief description. Greenwood copied the two drawings onto one sheet of paper, and composed a descriptive letter in reply to Eames. This letter (which we will hereafter call Letter B), however, was at first a rough draught only, with numerous corrections, erasures, and interlineations. Of this he then made a fair copy (Letter A), differing very slightly from the corrected original, markedly better in its handwriting and spelling, and containing most of the contents of the "Danforth slip" in a postscript. He sent the "fair copy" (Letter A)[2] and the copied drawings to Eames probably at about the time of its date, December 8, 1730. He retained in his own possession the original draught, the two original drawings, and the "Danforth slip."

In April, 1732, he learned from Eames that the latter had never received a reply to his previous letter with its request for the drawings.[3] There being a ship about to sail immediately, Greenwood, with no time to make another copy, prepared the materials concerning the rock which he had retained for himself in 1730: the original rough draught of his letter, the original drawings, and the "Danforth slip." Together these constitute what we will now call "Letter B."[4] They bear the original date of December 8, 1730, but were sent

sparse that I employed an expert to endeavor to render it more complete, but without success."

Since there is a question as to whether the contemporary printed sources or the Parochial Memorials furnish the more reliable version of the name, I retain the spelling of the former in the text.

[1] See first paragraph of Greenwood's letter of 1730.

[2] Reproduced in Plates VIII to XI.

[3] See Letter C.

[4] Reproduced in Plates XII to XVI.

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to Eames in 1732. With them he sent also a brief and hurried letter of explanation, dated April 28, 1732, which we designate as "Letter C." [1]

The only possible doubt about this part of our story concerns the order in which the two letters were sent. But when we consider, first, that if a man makes two copies of a letter, the one a rough draught and the other a fair and perfect copy, it is the latter that he sends to his correspondent, retaining the rough draught for his own use; second, that Greenwood was in haste when he sent the duplicate letter, and so would have been less likely then than at the earlier date to have made a fair copy of the materials he had on hand; third, that the rough draught, slip, separated drawings, and letter of 1732 are still preserved together; and fourth, that Letters B and C were copied together on the same date into the Register Book of the Royal Society, — we cannot escape the conclusion that our account thus far is correct. Particularly important is the resulting conclusion, that the drawings accompanying Letter B, never heretofore published, if not the original Danforth and Greenwood drawings, are at least one step nearer the originals than are the drawings of Letter A, which Bushnell photographed and published and which Lort copied at second hand; and the further conclusion that the "Danforth slip," if not written by Danforth himself, nevertheless gives us our nearest approach to Danforth's own statement.

Letters B and C arrived in London June 5, were received by Eames, and were presented by him to the Royal Society, where they were read on June 15, 1732; and on the same day the two letters and the drawings were copied into the Register Book of the Royal Society. Eventually they passed into Birch's collection of manuscripts and by 1782 were in the British Museum. Here they were registered at first, as we can show, under the number 4432, division or article 55. Later they became Add. MSS. 4432, at first with folio numbers 182–186 and perhaps 187, but now with folio numbers 185–190. Although Lort thought that he had made a thorough search of the records of the Royal Society, he failed to discover this entry in its Register Book, as well as the original letter, already in the British Museum.

Before November of 1732, Letter A, the fair copy originally sent by Greenwood to Eames, had also arrived. This letter is the one

[1] Reproduced in Plates XVII and XVIII.

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that was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Bogdani. Mr. Eames, who was a member of the Royal Society, may have sent it to the other Society through the Rev. Mr. Villers.[1] It was certainly not addressed to the latter. The dorse of its last sheet was not used for the address, and the sheet used as an envelope is not preserved. An excerpt from the letter, and the drawings, were copied into the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries on November 9, 1732. This letter apparently came into the possession of the Rev. William Cole, who bequeathed the volume in which it is contained to the British Museum in 1783. The drawings are known as Add. MSS. 6402 folio 47, and the letter as Add. MSS. 6402 folios 106 and 107.

Some of my photostats show clear evidence of the changes in numbering to which the letters have been subjected. Thus the first sheet of Letter A has three numbers in its upper right hand corner, all of them probably too faint to show clearly in the plate which is herewith reproduced from it. The number highest up is "112." Underneath it is "107" crossed out, followed by "106." Consequently Madden's reference to this letter as numbered 112 was once correct, although the folios now numbered 44 and 112 in volume 6402 contain entirely unrelated matters. Madden's "44" may be an error, since the three successive numberings shown on the drawing are "48," "46," and now "47." Nearly all the folios of Letters B and C show a "55" very plainly. On the folio containing the Greenwood drawing it is reversed, as if made on the back and showing through the paper. It may have been once on the folios where it is now missing and been cut off, as some of them have been trimmed. This "55" is the division number given to these two letters by Ayscough. Besides the "55," the first folio of Letter B has a rather faint "185," its present number; and a very faint "182" crossed out — the number by which Andrews refers to it. The triple numbering is shown more plainly on the last folio (189) of Letter B than on any of the others. With the exception of Madden's "44," therefore, the only error as to numbering and place of preservation that occurs in the table submitted above is that made by Baxter in saying that

[1] Neither Viller, nor Villan, nor any similar name beginning with a V or a W appears on the membership lists of either of the two societies in 1732 or thereabout. Cf. p. 279 note.

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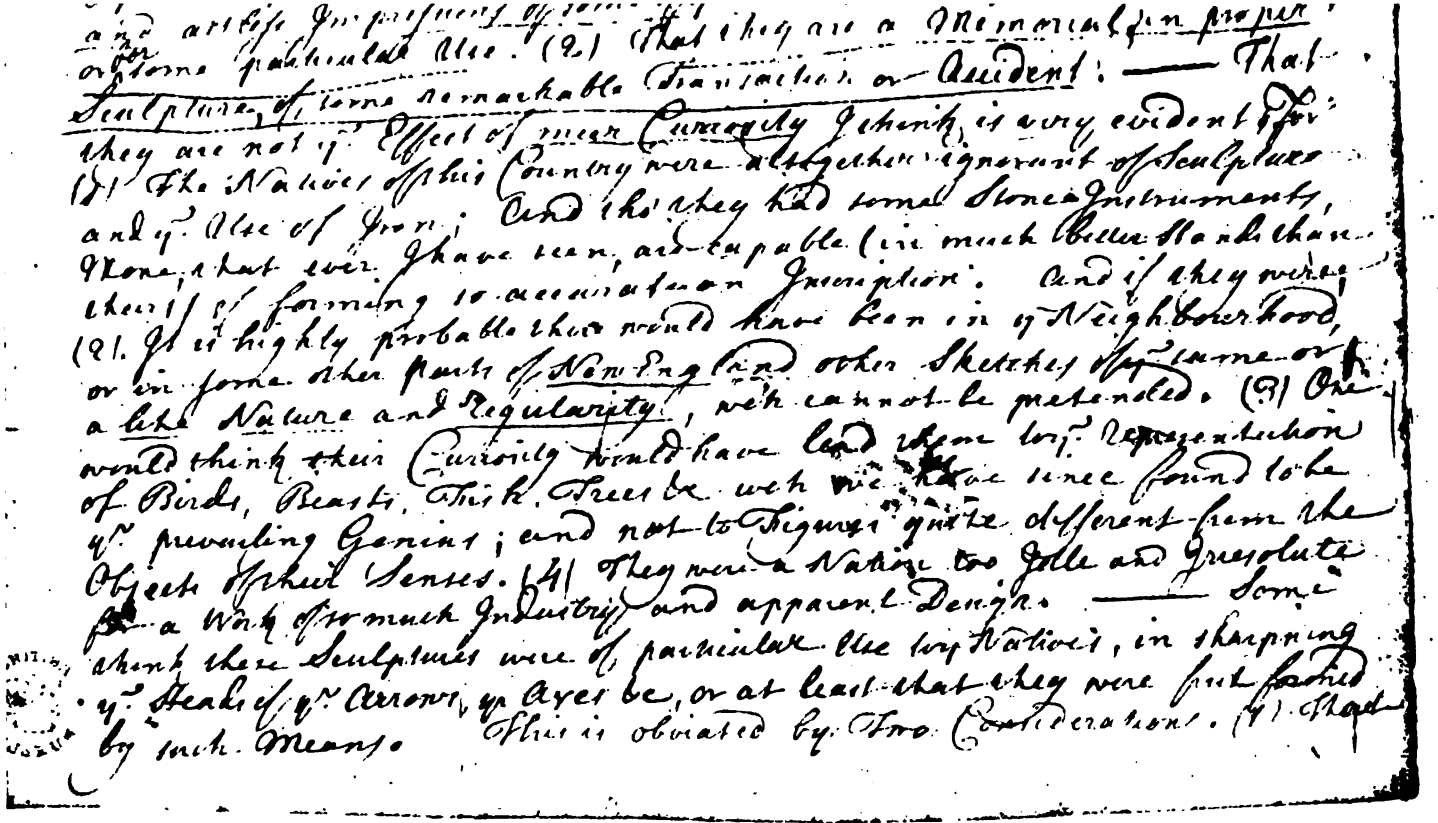
Time is supposed gradually to have impaired them; ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~; And one of advanced Years, in ye Town, told me he was sensible of some ~~small~~ Alteration since his Memory. And for this Reason I have also sent You No. 2, wch is a Draught of some part of this Inscription, taken by the Revd Mr Danforth, 1680. This Gentleman observes with relation to it that there was a Tradition current among ye Eldest Indians, that there came a Wooden House (and Men of another Country in it) swimming up ye River of Asoonet (as this was then called) who fought ye Indians with mighty Success &c. This I think evidently shows that this Monument was esteemed by ye oldest Indians, not only very antique, but a Work of a different Nature from any of theirs. It may not be improper to add here that this Place was One of ye most considerable Seats of Indians in this Part of ye World, and the River remarkable for all Sorts of Fowl and Fish.

After ~~With~~ this Description You may expect an Account of the Sentiments of some among us relating to this Inscription. Such as look upon it as ye Work of Nature are little acquainted with her Oc[illegible] [illegible] make but a [illegible] Observation [illegible]



185 DORSE

GREENWOOD LETTER B, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.185 DORSE

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the letter he found was in the Sloane Manuscripts; Scott is correct in not listing it there.

It is clear that there was but one recipient for all three letters, — Mr. John Eames.[1] The introductory paragraph, together with Letter C and its address, proves that all were addressed to the same person. So also does the entry in the Register Book of the Royal Society, described below. How it came about that his name has never been mentioned and three wrong ones given has already been discussed.

The discrepancy of the reports as to date is explained by the photostats and plates in an interesting manner. Letter A is clearly dated, at the beginning, "Decem. 8. 1730." The date in Letter B is placed at the end, and is also "Decemb. 8 1730." But before the "8" is a faint additional stroke, not nearly so black and thick as every other letter and number in the line, and not at all like the "1" in "1730." Not only Baxter, but the clerk who copied the letter into the Register Book of the Royal Society, as we shall see, thought that this was "18;" but Andrews correctly calls it "8."

Our plates reproduce in facsimile from photostats all the Greenwood documents in the British Museum.[2] Besides the actual contents of the letters, they show a considerable number of other features of interest. First of all, there is the great difference in style and handwriting in the two letters of 1730. One is fair, neat and deliberate in its calligraphy, with no erasures or corrections; the other presents a very different appearance, more hurried, careless and irregular. The rough draught has many erasures, interlineations, and underlinings which do not appear in the other. It also uses freely the contracted forms "y^e, y^t, y^r, w^{ch}," etc., and such spellings

[1] The Dictionary of National Biography speaks of John Eames as a "dissenting tutor." "His reputation as a tutor, especially in natural science, was very great." Dr. Isaac Watts considered him the most learned man of his acquaintance; and he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society through the influence of Sir Isaac Newton. He died in 1744.

[2] The approximate measurements of these papers are as follows:

Letter A (6402.106,107)	8 × 12
Combined Drawing (6402.47)	8 × 12¾
Letter B (4432.185,189)	7½ × 9 +
Greenwood Drawing (4432.186)	3½ × 9½
Danforth Drawing (4432.187)	2¾ × 7¾
Danforth Slip (4432.188)	2½ × 6¼
Letter C (4432.190)	8½ × 11

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as "Beech," "meer," "asshured," etc., which the other presents in a more scholarly manner. The "Worthy Sir" close to the top at the beginning of Letter B escaped the notice of the Royal Society copyist. The handwriting of the "Danforth slip" it is hard to judge. It might be Greenwood's more careless style. But it seems somewhat different from that, and probably it is by some other hand, even Danforth's own.[1] The "No. 2" at the bottom was unquestionably placed there by Greenwood to correspond to the number by which he named Danforth's drawing in the text. Probably, also, the "n" in "Taunton" was inserted by Greenwood. The dorse[2] of the last sheet of Letter B (folio 189) contains only the stamp of the British Museum, and the indorsement: "June 15, 1732. Tr. Copied." For this reason, though I have a photostat of it, I have not reproduced it among the plates. The indorsement refers to the date when the letter was copied into the Register Book of the Royal Society; though what the "Tr." means, I do not know.

The dorse of Letter C (folio 190) is an interesting study.[3] It was originally folded, of course, and served as envelope for Letters B and C together. Two wax seals — probably Greenwood's — are clearly shown. It is addressed: "For Mr. John Eames. Fellow of ye Royal Society &c. London. To be left with Mr. Thos. Hollis Merchant in

---

[1] Note particularly the difference in the capital "R" and in the manner of writing "ye." Note also that the slip calls the river "Assonet" or "Asonet." Greenwood knew that its name was "Taunton;" but, quoting the slip, he wrote: "Assoonet (as this was then called)," — meaning, perhaps, at the time the slip was written. The error in name is clearly due, not to Greenwood, but to the writer of the slip.

A letter written by John Danforth in 1698 is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It presents a great variety in the manner of forming the letters. Thus there are three forms of r; three of e; two of h, etc. Capitals T, H, S, and W are very like those of the slip. I noticed three cases of the occurrence of the word "ye;" in every case, the lower curve of the y is to the right, exactly as in the slip, although every other y in the whole letter, so far as I observed, even in "yr," has the curve turned to the left. The e also being alike in the two, the whole "ye" becomes a strongly characteristic indication of identity. The spelling "neer" for "near" is reminiscent of the "meer" of the slip. This letter, therefore, although its very closely written page and variety of style give it at first sight an appearance very different from that of the slip, rather supports the assumption that the latter was written by Danforth.

[2] This word is given in three different forms on the backs of the originals in the Museum: "dorse," "dors," and "dorso."

[3] Plate XVIII.

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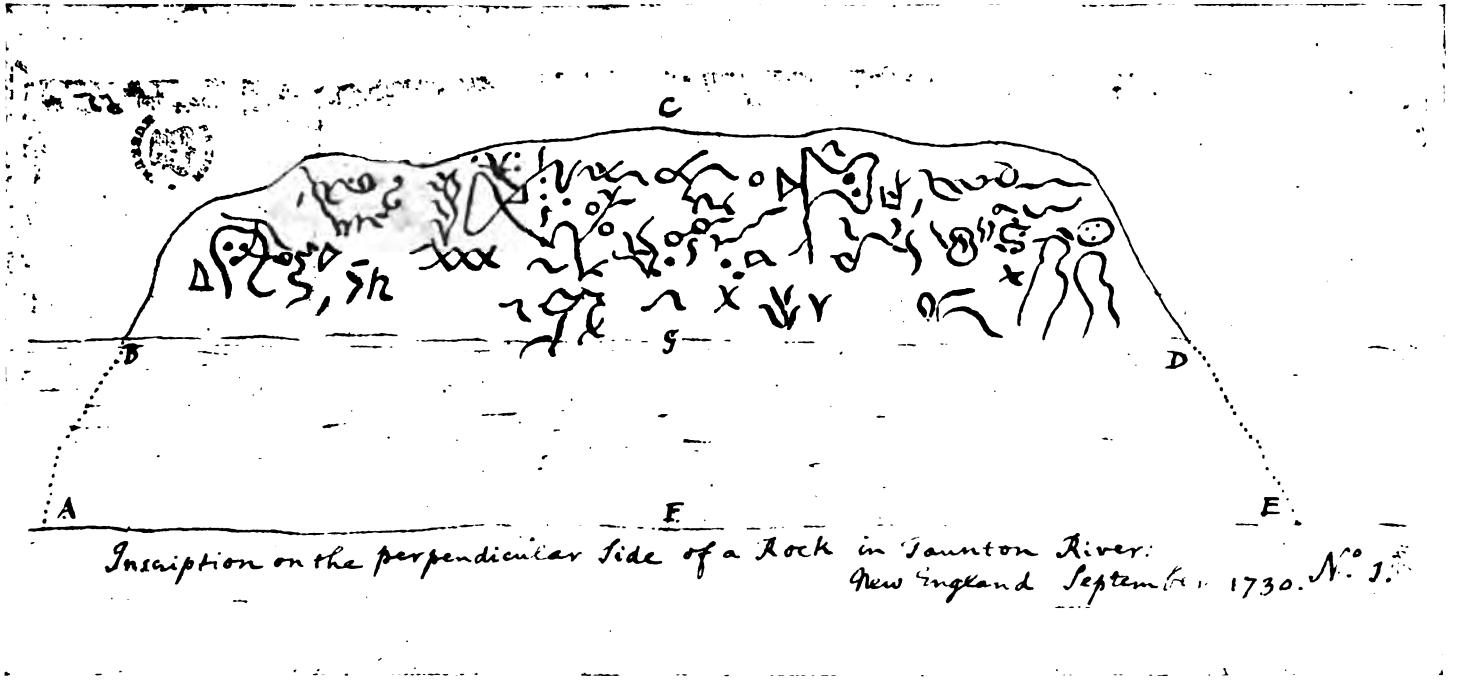

GREENWOOD LETTER B, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.186

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ye Minories. Per Capt Winslow." It is stamped with a "5" and "IV" enclosed in a circle with a horizontal diameter, — probably the stamp of the postal authorities, indicating the fifth day of the fourth month. The letter arrived in London, therefore, on the 5th of June. Intermingled with the address are three not very legible marks, that may also have been written there by postal clerks. The upper one is probably "1 oz" — the weight of the letter. The next looks like I N 5 or II V 5; yet the character in the middle probably is not an N or a V. Could it be "11 shillings 5 pence" for postage?[1] The last might be three faint initials — possibly "ADC," and conceivably the initials of the mailing clerk. There are, further, two endorsements. One is that of the Royal Society copyist: "June 15, 1732. Copied." The other has "June 15, 1732" and "Inscription in N. Engld." in two different handwritings. Finally there is the stamp of the British Museum.

Underneath the drawings of Letter A, Greenwood wrote a description in Latin. We have already seen, in our discussion of Danforth, how his Latin abbreviation for "Mister" (D^om^) misled the person who copied the drawings into the Minutes of the Society of

[1] See C. W. Ernst, The Postal Service in Boston, in Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County, 1894, ii. 443–504.

The British Post-Office Act of 1710, 9th Anne, Chapter 10, established a legal route and legal rates for mails from Boston, via New York, to London; the rate being 2 shillings per sheet, or 8 shillings for one ounce. But New York had no mail packets until 1755–56. Letters from Boston went by private ship, as so-called ship letters, instead of being sent by the legal route at the legal rates. If for London delivery and not carried personally to their destination by the ship's captain, they were handed over to the "penny post" — not the Post Office, but a concern for handling local letters, whose charge for delivery was one penny.

Thus the above suggestion about the meaning of the "I N 5" does not seem to be warranted. Mr. Ernst, to whom I have submitted the problem, tells me that the "5–IV" indicates that the penny post received the letter on June 5th; and that the other marks indicate the receiving office. But if the penny post delivered for one penny irrespective of weight, what is the reason for the weight being indicated? Greenwood's letter of three sheets and three smaller enclosures must actually have weighed not far from "1 oz." "It is conceivable," writes Mr. Ernst, "that your ship letter on arriving in London was gobbled by the postal authorities; but they could not lawfully collect more than a few pence." The latest discussions of this subject of which I know are J. C. Hemmeon's History of the British Post-Office, 1912, and a paper on The Colonial Post-Office, by William Smith, in the American Historical Review for January, 1916 (xxi. 258–275). They do not help to enlighten me as to the meaning of the I N 5, or whatever else is there written; and so I leave the solution of this question uncertain.

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Antiquaries, and led every one thereafter to speak of "Dr." Danforth and "Dr." Greenwood.

ISAAC GREENWOOD'S LETTERS AND DRAWINGS

We can now consider the actual contents of the letters and of the drawings, and the different versions of them that have been recorded. We will consider the drawings first. As has been already said, those of Letter B (4432 f. 185 et seq.) may possibly be the original by Danforth and the original by Greenwood; though of this we have no sufficient evidence.[1] If copies, they nevertheless certainly are nearer

[1] Evidence is not wholly lacking, however. The following mingling of surmise and fact is interesting and may be true; and it seems worth while to record a consistent and plausible speculation. On the Danforth drawing of Letter A (6402 f. 47), which is unquestionably a copy by Greenwood, underneath the first figure at the left is a character like a B lying on its side, thus: ⊟. It is not in keeping with the rest of the drawing, and looks almost as if it did not belong there. Yet Lort and all his successors accepted it as real and made it conform to the rest of the drawing. So also did Cotton Mather in 1690, though he made it look like a 9, not a B. But on this "original" Danforth drawing of Letter B (4432) it is much fainter than on the copy that Mather made and on the other copy that Greenwood made for Letter A. Moreover, it is not merely a B, but apparently a BI, and it clearly is not a part of the drawing itself, but an extraneous mark. Now it is a curious coincidence that these very initials are cut on another stone on the same property within half a mile from Dighton Rock. The owner of the rock at the time of Danforth's visit in 1680, and again when Cotton Mather obtained his first drawing about 1689, was James Walker, a prominent man in Taunton, one of the original purchasers of Assonet Neck in 1677. In 1690, he deeded his property there to two daughters (see Bristol County, Massachusetts, N. District Land Records, Book 2, p. 242), one of whom in 1695 became the wife of Benjamin Jones (Memorial of the Walkers of Old Plymouth Colony, 1861, p. 421). The property was divided, and the part containing the Rock came into the ownership of this Benjamin Jones, who already dwelt there, the division line being marked by boundary stones on one side of which were "marked or engraven" the initials B:I: (loc. cit. Book 7, p. 720). In 1720, Hannah, widow relict of this Benjamin, deeded the property to her son Benjamin (loc. cit. Book 13, p. 258), who, since he lived until 1768 (Bristol County Probate Records, Book 20, p. 396), was dwelling on the place in 1730. He had personal knowledge of Greenwood's visit at that time (see p. 270, above). It is barely possible that John Danforth visited in Taunton shortly after graduating from Harvard College; went to the Rock in company with its owner, James Walker; gave to the latter his original drawing, or one of them, and perhaps also the descriptive "slip" now in 4432 f. 188 to go with it; that later, possibly after Walker's death (1691 or 1692), his daughter Hannah had these papers, and through her marriage they came into possession of Benjamin Jones; that he or his son Benjamin placed these initials on the drawing, and that it was from the latter that Greenwood secured the papers

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to the originals than any others in existence. Yet they have never before been reproduced. Our modern versions are all derived from the copies of these that Greenwood made and sent with Letter A (6402 f. 47). From Greenwood's copies they were first copied into the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, then from that source they were copied by Lort and published in Archaeologia, which in turn has been the source of all later reproductions except Bushnell's. There are many slight and a few important differences between the "originals" in B, the "Greenwood copies" in A, and the copies by Lort.[1] In the Danforth drawing, for instance, there are several cases of lines joined together in B which become separated in A, or separated in B which become joined in A. The faint "BI" near the left in B has become a clearer, but still linear, "B" in A. A little distance from the right end there is a small linear square in B and none in A. Finally, and most striking of all, a part of the third figure from the right at the top, above the square just mentioned, is clear and perfect in B, but has suffered a blot or smear in A. Lort follows practically all the characteristics of A except that he gives the whole in outline. He even preserves the unintended blot, as have all subsequent copies. In the Greenwood drawing, there are even more cases of difference in the joining or separating of lines; the proportions are visibly different; the water has been more artistically presented in A; the second apparently human figure from the right end has no dots for eyes and mouth in B, but has them in A; the first

in 1730. My correspondent tells me that the paper of the two drawings, 186 and 187, seems different from the body of the letter, and smoother, especially 186. The two drawings, therefore, are apparently on differing paper, and 186 looks more handled than 187. As to the "slip," 188, it is difficult to judge, because it is pasted onto modern paper of the British Museum. It is not probable that it was written by Greenwood at the same time that he composed his letter, because in such case he would have incorporated it into the letter. He already had it, as a descriptive companion to the drawing. Its handwriting may not be Greenwood's and may be Danforth's. It looks as if Greenwood had added to it not only the "No. 2," but also the inserted "n" which corrects the previous spelling of the word "Tanton;" and other reasons have been given on an earlier page for the belief that the slip was not written by Greenwood. These considerations do not prove that the drawing and slip were by Danforth himself, nor that the initials on the drawing were put there by Benjamin Jones, father or son; they do not explain how Mather in 1689 happened to put another character in the corresponding position on his drawing; but they indicate interesting possibilities.

[1] For B, see Plate XIV; for A, Plate XI; and for Lort, Plate VII.

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triangular figure from the left has an included character in A, which was lacking in B. Lort naturally follows nearly all the characteristics of A, though he omits so elaborate a presentation of the water and shore, in a very few cases approaches more nearly the line-meetings of B, and once at least, in the lines running to eye and mouth of the head at the left, he differs from both. His own statement, his mistake about the "Dr.," and the above facts, all concur in proving that his copies were made from the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, whose drawings were copied from Letter A.

The contents of the letter are almost identical in the two cases. The main difference is that what was a separate slip included in the rough draught, B, has become a postscript in A. Because A is so clearly legible in the plates, and has already been transcribed, though imperfectly, by Bushnell, we will here give a transcript of the original draught only, Letter B, and will exhibit the differences between the two in another connection.

WORTHY SIR,

I have according to ye Desire of some of ye Members of the honourable, y^e^ *Royal Society*, wch You mentioned to Me in Your last, examined ye remarkable Inscription on ye Rock in *Taunton-River*, described in y^e^ *Philosophical Transactions N^o^* 339. p. 70. And herewith send a View of as much of it as I could then possibly take.

ABCDE represent ye Face thereof, being a Plane nearly perpendicular to ye Horison, looking N b W, in Length from B to D 11½ Feet, and in Depth from C to F, 4½. This seems to have been left by *Nature* very smouth, and is certainly in its Substance very uniform, compact and durable.

BGD represent ye Surface of ye Water at ye Time of Observation. I am informed that at some *extraordinary Tides* ye Water ebbs below ye Rock: and some of undoubted Veracity belonging to ye Town asshured me, that the River has been constantly incroaching on that Part of ye Beech, so as to waste ye adjacent Land; wch since ye Memory of many alive is something more distant from ye Rock than formerly tho' now but a few Feet, and that y^r^ are *ye like Figures for some Feet under AE* wch is ye present Surface of ye Beech.

In determining ye Characters or Figures I found some Difficulty, for the Indentures are not at present very considerable, nor, I think, equally deep; wch put me upon ye following Rule. vizt. Carefully to trace out and chaulk all such Places, and those only, wch I beleived were real In-

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The Uppermost of ye Enpa
six miles below Taunton
time in October 1680. by
from the Tradition of
house (& men of another
Asonet, yt fought ye Ind
Some recon the figures
The first figure represent
meer Wrack cast upon
The second representing
cape with a peninsula.

GREENWOOD LETTE

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE

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No. 2

of a Rock in ye river Assomet
England. Taken out some
Danforth. It is reported 188
lians, yt ye came a wooden
y in it) swimming up the rive
& slew yr Saunchem. &c.
to be Hieroglyphicall.
a Ship, without masts, & a
Phoales.
head of Land, possibly a
e a Gulf.

No. 2.

MUSEUM

DECEMBER 8, 1730

AL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.187.188

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dentures; and in this Part I desired ye Revisal and Assistance of ye Rev^d^ *Mr Fisher*[1] and others. Many places were passed over wch did not seem to be indented, as to ye Eye, tho remarkably discoloured, by some adheerent Matter, in corresponding Figures to ye Rest. I thought it more adviseable to give such Parts of these Characters as were real, that thereby ye whole might be obtained; than to run ye Risque of a conjectural Description, wch would certainly endanger ye Discovery of many Parts: And for this reason I must also note, that ye Figures are not all so well defined as I have expressed them; y^r^ Bounds being scarcely perceivable in some of Them: the Stroakes also may be something tho' very little broader, y^r^ Direction being w^t^ I cheifly aimed at.[2]

Time is supposed gradually to have impaired them; And one of advanced Years, in ye Town, told Me he was sensible of some Alteration since his Memory. And for this Reason I have also sent You N°. 2, wch is a *Draught* of some part of this Inscription taken by the Rev^d^ *Mr Danforth*, 1680. This Gentleman observes with relation to it that there was a Tradition current among ye Eldest Indians, that there came a Wooden House (and Men of another Country in it) swimming up ye River of *Asoonet* (as this was then called [3]) who fought ye Indians with mighty Success &c. This, I think, evidently shows that this Monument was esteemed, by ye oldest Indians, not only very antique; but a Work of a different Nature from any of theirs. It may not be improper to add here that this Place was One of ye most considerable Seats of *Indians* in this Part of ye World, and the River remarkable for all Sorts of Fowl and Fish.

After this *Description* You may expect an Account of the Sentiments of some among us relating to this Inscription. Such as look upon it as ye Work of *Nature* are little acquainted with her Operations, and have made but a cursory Observation hereof. Two Opinions prevail most. (1.) *That these Figures are ye undesigning and artless Impressions of some*

[1] Nathaniel Fisher was born about 1686; Harvard College, 1706; ordained in 1710; first minister of Taunton South Precinct, which, together with Assonet Neck, became the township of Dighton in 1712; continued in office until his death at the age of 91, August 30, 1777.

[2] This is the end of the first page, except that the word "Time" is added at the bottom, to indicate the first word on the following page.

[3] There is no evidence that any part of Taunton River was ever called Assonet. Its Indian name was Titicut, Tetiquet, or Tecticutt. Plymouth and Taunton records refer to it always as "down the river," the "great river," "Taunton Great River," or later "Taunton River." Assonet Bay and Assonet River are on the other side of Assonet Neck, and empty into Taunton River two miles below Dighton Rock. They are called by these names very frequently in the Proprietors' Records between 1648 and 1669.

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of ye Natives out of meer Curiosity, or for some particular Use. (2.) *That they are a Memorial, in proper Sculpture, of some remarkable Transaction or Accident.* — That they are not ye Effect of *meer Curiosity* I think is very evident. For (1) The Natives of this Country were altogether ignorant of Sculpture and ye Use of Iron; And tho' they had some Stone Instruments, None, that ever I have seen, are capable (in much better Hands than theirs) of forming so accurate an Inscription. And if they were; (2). It is highly probable there would have been in ye Neighbourhood, or in some other parts of *New England* other Sketches of ye same or a *like Nature* and *Regularity*, wch cannot be pretended. (3) One would think their Curiosity would have lead them to ye Representation of Birds, Beasts, Fish. Trees &c wch we have since found to be y^r^ prevailing Genius; and not to Figures quite different from the Objects of their Senses. (4) They were a Nation too Idle and Irresolute for a Work of so much Industry and apparent Design. — Some think these Sculptures were of particular Use to ye Natives, in sharpning ye Heads of y^r^ Arrows, y^r^ Axes &c, or at least that they were first formed by such Means. This is obviated by Two Considerations. (1) That[1] there are no more, as I can yet hear, of such Indented Rocks. If this was their *usual* Custom we should find these Traces and Indentures, very probably, on many Rocks of ye same Nature as this; And if it was *Political*, (a Customary Praparation to confirm and encourage One Another in their Intention or Prosecution of War), No doubt but kindred and Confederate Tribes would have had their Respective Standards. — But (2) The Figures are too Regular and uniform to comport with such an Occasion. And this brings Me to ye Second Opinion vizt. *That These Figures are a Memorial, in proper Sculpture, of some remarkable Transaction or Accident.* Which appears, from ye great *Number* thereof; from y^e^ *Likeness* of several; from the Parallellism and Conformity of ye Stroakes, one with Another, in each; from ye Circumstances of ye Rock and Place, wch are very proper for such a Design; and from ye equal Irregularity of some of ye Oriental Characters &c. — But for ye furthur Discovery of this, our Hopes being placed upon ye extraordinary Skill and Ingenuity of M^r^ La Croze,[2] in ye Alphabets, both ancient and Modern, of the Oriental Tongues, it is with pleasure I now take Leave of this Subject.

If it shall be thought proper to prosecute ye Subject any furthur, I will endeavour to transmit unto ye Society a large Veiw of y^e^ *whole In-*

[1] This word ends the second page of the letter.

[2] Probably Mathurin Veyssière de Lacroze, who, according to Larousse's Grand Dictionaire (xv. 973), was an "érudit et orientaliste français, né 1661, mort 1739."

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scription,[1] with an Account of some other Sculptures wch probably were the Work of some Modern *Indians*. And this I esteem, but a just Debt to that *Illustrious Body*, who have improved, in so eminent a manner, every Branch of Humane Literature.

I am, Worthy Sir, Your Obed^{t} Hum^{l} Servt

Is: GREENWOOD

Camb. Decemb. 8 1730.

It thus appears that Greenwood was of the opinion that the inscription was not the work of Indians, and that it contained Oriental characters. This view was greatly developed in detail and ardently advocated some fifty to seventy-five years later in several forms. Vallancey believed it the work of Siberian Tartars who had emigrated from Asia to America; Stiles, that these Tartars were descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua, and ancestors of the Indians, but that the inscription was made by Phœnicians; Gebelin, that it was the work of Carthaginian sailors; Mathieu, that it was due to a Prince of Atlantis; Dammartin, that it was by Egyptians; Samuel Harris, that it contains Hebrew words; and Ira Hill, that it was done by Jewish and Tyrian sailors during the reign of King Solomon. But the exposition of these theories belongs to a later chapter of this history.

With this letter were sent the two drawings on separate sheets, and the "Danforth slip," which Greenwood had retained with the rough draught, when he sent off the copied letter and drawings in 1730. The "Danforth slip" reads as follows, with what are apparently Greenwood's own two additions to it placed in brackets:

The Uppermost of ye Engravings of a Rock in ye river Assoonet[2] six miles below Tau[n]ton in New England. Taken out sometime in October 1680. by John Danforth. It is reported from the Tradition of old Indians, y^{t} y^{r} came a wooden house (& men of another country in it) swimming up the river Asonet, y^{t} fought ye Indians, & slew y^{r} Saunchem. &c.

Some recon the figures here to be Hieroglyphicall. The first figure representing a Ship, without masts, & a meer Wrack cast upon the Shoales. The second representing an head of Land, possibly a cape with a peninsula. Hence a Gulf.

[N°. 2]

[1] The words "that wch is under, with what is above Ground;" are here written in and crossed out.

[2] This is an error made by Danforth: see pp. 284 note 1, 289 note 3, above.

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Greenwood's Letter C, which enclosed this rough draught, Letter B, sent to replace his Letter A which had failed to reach its destination, was as follows:

NE. CAMB. April 28 1732.

HON. SIR

I perceive by Yours that a Packet I sent to You upwards of a Year since miscarried in wch was an Answer to Your Request relating to ye Inscription on ye Rock at Taunton. I am loth by this First Opportunity to omit sending a Coppy thereof, And with Thanks to you for Your Favours, I am with all due Respect,

Your Obliged Humble Servt.

I: GREENWOOD

If it shouldbe thought proper to make it public, I shouldbe glad You'l would see that ye Title Hollisean be placed before Profess. of ye Mathematicks and Philosophy at Camb. NE.

Please to excuse my Brevity, for I am but just now informed that ye Vessel is immediately to sail.[1]

The address and other features that appear on the back of this sheet, which was used as an envelope in which to send both Letters B and C through the mail, reveal the name of his correspondent, and have already been discussed.

On the 15th of June, 1732, Letter B was read, presumably by Eames, to the Royal Society, onto whose Register Book for 1731–32 it and its enclosures were copied at once. In the margin of the Register appears: "Read, June 15: 1732." On the letter itself, as well as on Letter C, was endorsed: "June 15, 1732. Copied." The copy in the Register Book is headed: "An Account of an Inscription in unknown Characters found on a Rock in Taunton River, in New England: communicated in a Letter to Mr John Eames F. R. S. By Mr Isaac Greenwood, Hollisian Professor of the Mathematicks & Philosophy at Cambridge in New England. Dated Cambr: Decemb^r^ 18. 1730." Then follows the copy of the letter itself, exact as to wording, apparently (only the beginning and the end of it have

[1] The New England Weekly Journal of May 1, 1732, has the following entry: "*Custom House*, Boston, *April* 29. . . . *Clear-Out*, . . . Winslow & Scott for London" (p. 2/1). We have already seen that the letter was sent "Per Capt. Winslow." This was doubtless the "Edw. Winslow" who "Entred Inwards" on the preceding 4th of March (ibid. March 6, p. 4/2).

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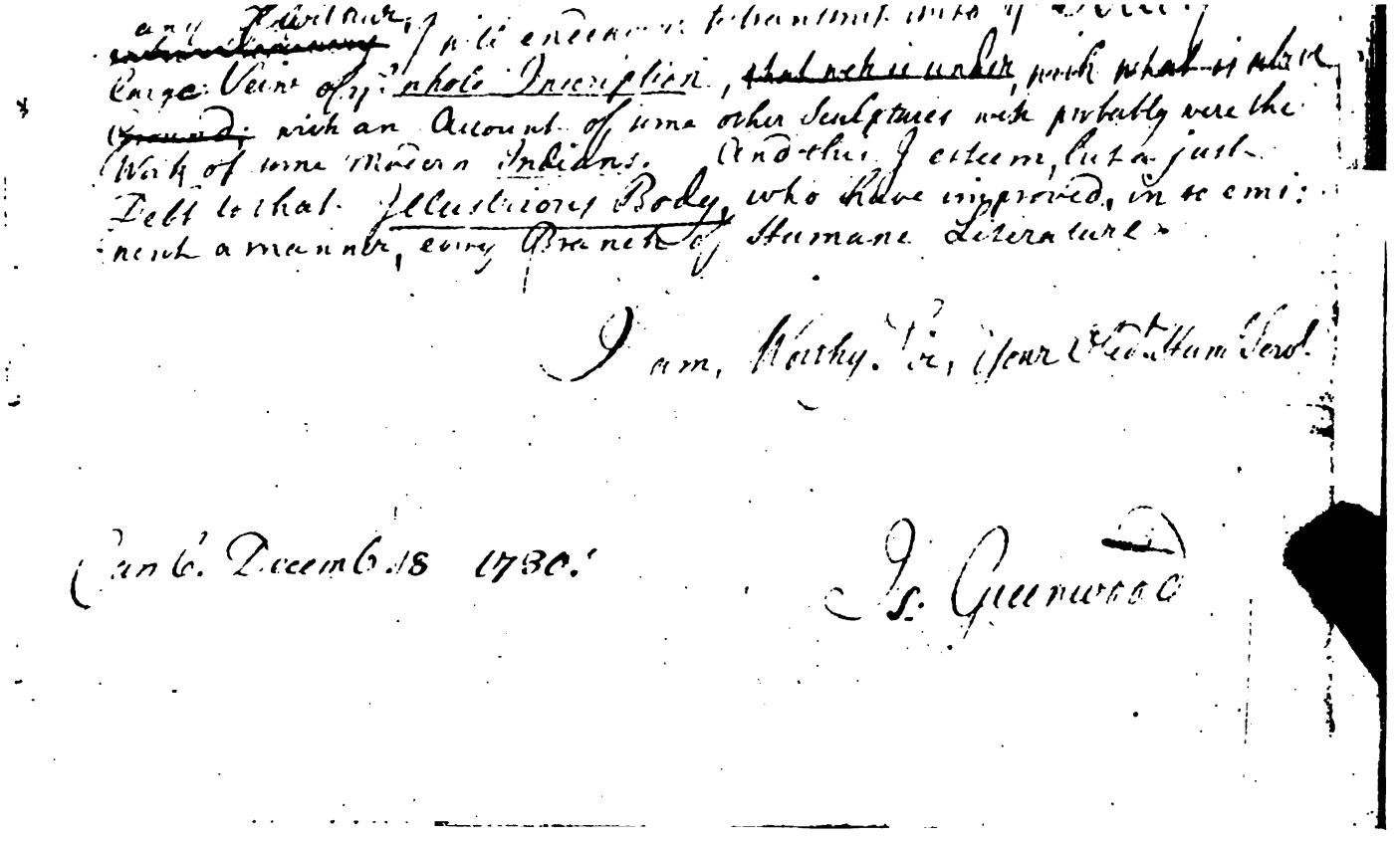
we can yet hear of

there are no more such Indented Rocks. If this was their usual Custom 1859
we should find these Traces and Indentures, very probably, on many Rocks
of ye same Nature as this; And if it was Political, (a Customary Propa=
gation to confirm and encourage One Another in their Intention or Prosecution
of Wars), No doubt but kindred and Confederate Tribes would have had
their Respective Standards. — But (2) The Figures are too regular
and uniform to comport with such an Occasion. And this brings Me
to my Second Opinion viz. That These Figures are a Memorial, in proper
Sculpture, of some Remarkable Transaction or Accident. Which ap-
pears, from ye great Number thereof; ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ from ye Likeness of Several
from the Parallelism and Conformity of ye Strokes, one with Another, in
each; from ye Circumstances of ye Rock and Place (which are very proper for
such a Design); and from ye equal Irregularity of some of ye Oriental
Characters &c. — But for ye further Discovery of this, our Hopes being
placed upon ye ~~uncommon~~ extraordinary Skill and Ingenuity of
Mr. La Croze in ye Alphabets, both ancient and Modern of the ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ Oriental Tongues, it is with pleasure I now take leave
of this Subject.



GREENWOOD LETTER B, DECEMBER 8, 1730

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.189

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been transcribed for me), but differing in such particulars as the use of abbreviations, the substitution of "the" for "y^e," the use of capitals, etc.

The two drawings have been copied onto a piece of paper, with the appropriate description written under each, and this paper has been pasted into the book. Underneath the Greenwood drawing, in the hand of the clerk who copied the letter, is the description that appears in Greenwood's hand on the drawing in Letter B; but to it is added, in a small and crabbed writing apparently by another hand:

	ft
length From B to D	11½
Depth from C to F	4½

B.C.D. represent the surface of the water at the time of Observation.

Underneath the Danforth drawing, in the crabbed hand, are reproduced the contents of the "slip," with mention of "John" Danforth, of "October" 1680, and of the "Saunchem," which prove that it was Letter B, not A, that was here copied, and that these now new facts might have been announced already by Lort, had he thoroughly searched the records of the Royal Society. The two drawings are very like their originals; but the dots representing eyes and mouth have been inserted in the head of the second figure from the right in the Greenwood drawing, though lacking in the original. This is a natural error, rendered more natural by suggestion from the neighboring figure, and not evidence that it was the drawing of Letter A that was being copied.

The Minutes of the Royal Society for 1732 could not be examined by my correspondent, as they were already stored away with other manuscripts and pictures as a precaution against a possible Zeppelin raid; but the Secretary said he should not expect anything to be there, when the original was copied into the Register.

After Letter A arrived, as it eventually did, it would appear that Mr. Eames thought that the Society of Antiquaries of London would be interested in the new information. It seems probable that he gave this accidentally duplicate letter to the Rev. Mr. Villers, who, through Mr. Bogdani, submitted it to the Society of Antiquaries, to whom it was read at a meeting held November 9, 1732. The drawings and about half of the letter were copied into the Minutes of the

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Society, where they are still accessible.[1] The copy is preceded by the following introduction:

Mr. Bogdani produced a Drawing from a Rock in the River Taunton in New England drawn by Dr Greenwood 1730 & another of the same by Dr Danforth 1680 together with a letter from Dr Isaac Greenwood Hollesian Professor at New Cambridge to the Rev. M^r^ — Viller Rector of S^t^ — Tottlefields dat. N.E. Cambr. Dec. 8 1730, giving an account of the same as follows.

The excerpt omits the introductory sentence, which gives the conclusive evidence as to the person to whom the letter was addressed. It begins with the second sentence, "ABCDE . . .," and ends at about the middle part of the letter with the words " . . . Fowl and Fish." It is very faithful to the original, but presents a few differences in spelling and capitalization. The two illustrations, the Assistant Secretary of the Society informs me, are identical with Numbers 2 and 3 on Plate XVIII of Volume VIII of Archaeologia. Below the drawings in the Minutes is written the description in Latin as in Greenwood's Letter A, except that "perpendicularis" is substituted for "perpendiculari," "Nove" for "Novae," "D^r^" for "D^om^" in both cases, and "Supera" for "supra" in the second case of its occurrence. Also the order of one line is changed.

For some reason, it was not "thought proper" by the Royal Society or others to make the letter public.[2] Consequently the duplicate letters with their drawings and the records of the two Societies slumbered unknown for fifty years. It was not until Professor Stephen Sewall of Harvard College had made a new copy of the inscription in 1768; and a copy of this had been sent to M. Court de Gebelin in Paris, who, in the eighth volume of his Monde Primitif, published in 1781, pronounced the inscription Punic or Carthaginian; and Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, in his Election Sermon of May 8, 1783, had supported Gebelin's interpretation, — it was not until then that the first widespread interest in the mysterious rock since Mather's time arose, and new public discussions of

[1] MS. Minutes S. A. L., ii. 2.

[2] The reason probably was that the drawings were not considered sufficiently complete and accurate. For we learn that before 1744 Eames sought to obtain a "more accurate copy" through Professor John Winthrop. See Archaeologia, viii. 295.

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it began. It was President Stiles's sermon that incited the Rev. Michael Lort, in 1786, to survey the history of the subject anew. He discovered, as he says, that copies of the Dighton inscription —

> had been sent, at different times by different persons, both to the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, though no notice had been taken thereof in the printed Memoirs of either Society, except a very slight one in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1714; I have therefore, from the minute books of each Society, collected together these different accounts, and, together with the drawings which accompanied them, submit them [on November 23, 1786] to the inspection of this learned body [the Society of Antiquaries]; and by their means, if it shall be thought proper, to the world at large.[1]

From his paper, entitled "Account of an antient Inscription in North America," all subsequent knowledge of Danforth and Greenwood has been drawn, until Bushnell published his transcript from the letter itself in 1908.

Since he searched only in the Minute Books of the Societies, Lort naturally failed to discover the entire letter with its ampler information, either in the Royal Society's Register or in the British Museum. His transcript from the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, moreover, is rather careless. The difference in his drawings has already been noted. In the letter, he transfers the part beginning: "ABCDE . . ." to the end, himself beginning with the words: "I am informed . . ." In spelling, capitalization and punctuation, he diverges widely from his original. He presents many cases of changed order of words, such as: "at present are not" in place of "are not at present," "may be also" in place of "also may be." Occasionally he inserts words or changes the manner of phrasing. The more important differences of the latter sort will be indicated shortly.

Except for Baxter's brief quotation in 1887 from the "Danforth slip," in connection with which he gave no indication that its source was either Danforth or Greenwood, no further new information appeared concerning either of them until David I. Bushnell published his transcript of Letters A and C in full, in the American Anthropologist in 1908. Unfortunately this transcript is very unreliable. More than fifty errors of capitalization, punctuation, paragraphing,

[1] Archaeologia, viii. 292.]

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and spelling occur on his first page alone. Some even more serious errors will be indicated in a comparative table below. Nevertheless he has the merit of having been the first to give us the whole of either of the letters of 1730, or that of 1732, or to show accurately how Greenwood's own drawings actually looked.

The table which follows exhibits some of the more important differences in the various versions of the letter of 1730. It pays no attention to differences in the use of capitals, punctuation, forms like "y^{e}" or "&" and their equivalents, abbreviations, and the like, which are exceedingly numerous. It does not include all changes in order of words such as Lort frequently indulged in. It also omits consideration of the version in the Royal Society's Register, since that has never, directly or indirectly, served as a source of information.

GREENWOOD A	BUSHNELL	SOC. OF ANTIQ.	LORT	GREENWOOD B
N. E. Cambr. Decem 8. 1730	N. E. CAMBS. Dec. 8th 1730	..... Dec. 8 1730	 1730	Camb. Decemb. 8 1730
.....	.....	.....	.....	Worthy Sir
pa. 70	pa 73	.....	.....	p. 70
face thereof,	face thereof	Face thereof,	face of the rock,	Face thereof,
Horison,	Horizon	Horizon	horison	Horison
N b W	N 6 W	N b W	north by west	N b W
11½ feet,	11½ feet	11½ feet,	eleven feet	11½ Feet,
substance	substance	Substance	surface	Substance
extraordinary	extrordinary	extraordinary	extraordinary	extraordinary
& some of	& some of	& some of	& some persons of	and some of
undoubted	undoubtible	undoubted	undoubted	undoubted
assured	assured	assured	assure	asshured
Beach,	Beach	Beach	beach	Beech
Lands,	Lands	Land,	lands;	Land;
many alive	many alive	many alive	many now living	many alive
feet	feit	feet	feet	Feet
Beach	Beach	Beech	beach	Beech
Chalk	Chalk	Chalk	chalk	chaulk
beleived were real Indentures,	believed were real Indentures,	believed were really Indentures.	really believed indentures;	beleived were real Indentures;
to be indented,	to be indented,	to be indented	to be indentures	to be indented,
adherent	adherent	adherent	adherent	adherent
advisable	advisable	advisable	adviseable	adviseable
Risqs	risq	Risque	risk	Risque
endanger	endanger	endanger	have endangered	endanger
the discovery of many parts,	the discovery of many parts,	the Discoverd parts,	the discovered parts;	ye Discovery of many Parts:
not all	not at all	not all	not all	not all
Draught	Draught	Draught	drawing	Draught
current	current	current	went current	current
among the eldest	among the eldest	among the eldest	with the oldest	among ye Eldest
of Assoonet	Assoonet	of Assoonet	Assoonet	of Assoonet
as this	as it	as this	as this	as this
of the Nature	of the Nature	.....	.....	of Nature
(1) meer; (2) mere	mere	.....	.....	meer
the use	thense	.....	.....	ye Use
Fishes	Fishes	.....	.....	Fish
Natives	Indians	.....	.....	Natives
their	thier	.....	.....	yr
Axes	Axes	.....	.....	Axes
farther	farther	.....	.....	further
ancient	antient	.....	.....	ancient
humane	human	.....	.....	Humane
I am &c ~	I am Sir	.....	.....	I am. Worthy Sir, Your Obed^{t} Hum^{l} Servt
Isaac Greenwood	Isaac Greenwood	.....	.....	Is: Greenwood
Some take this Inscription thinking that in	Some take this Inscription thinking	.....	.....	Some recon the figures here
mere Wreck	mere Wreck	.....	.....	.....
up	upon	.....	.....	meer Wreak
an Head	a Head	.....	.....	upon
Peninsula.	Peninsular,	.....	.....	an head
				peninsula.

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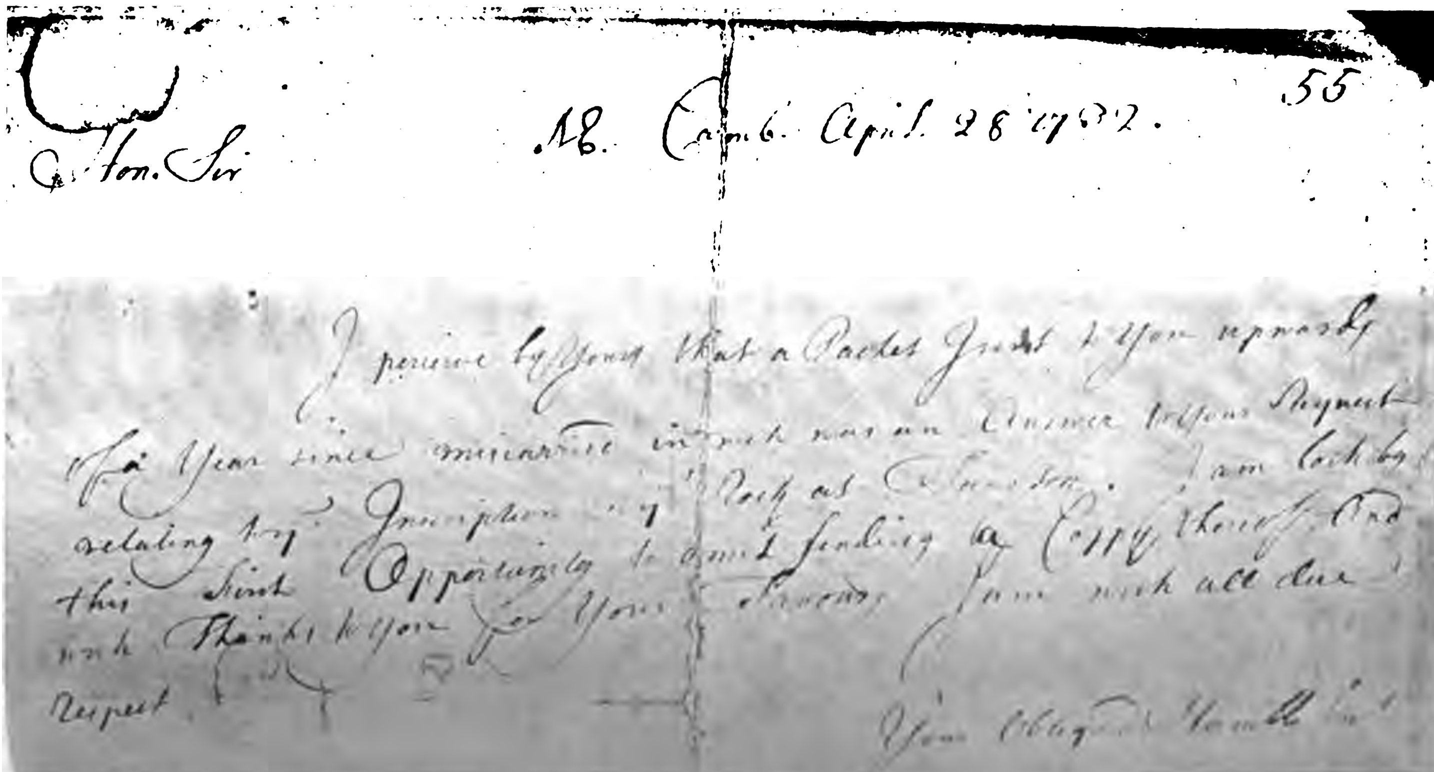
Plate XVII



Hon. Sir

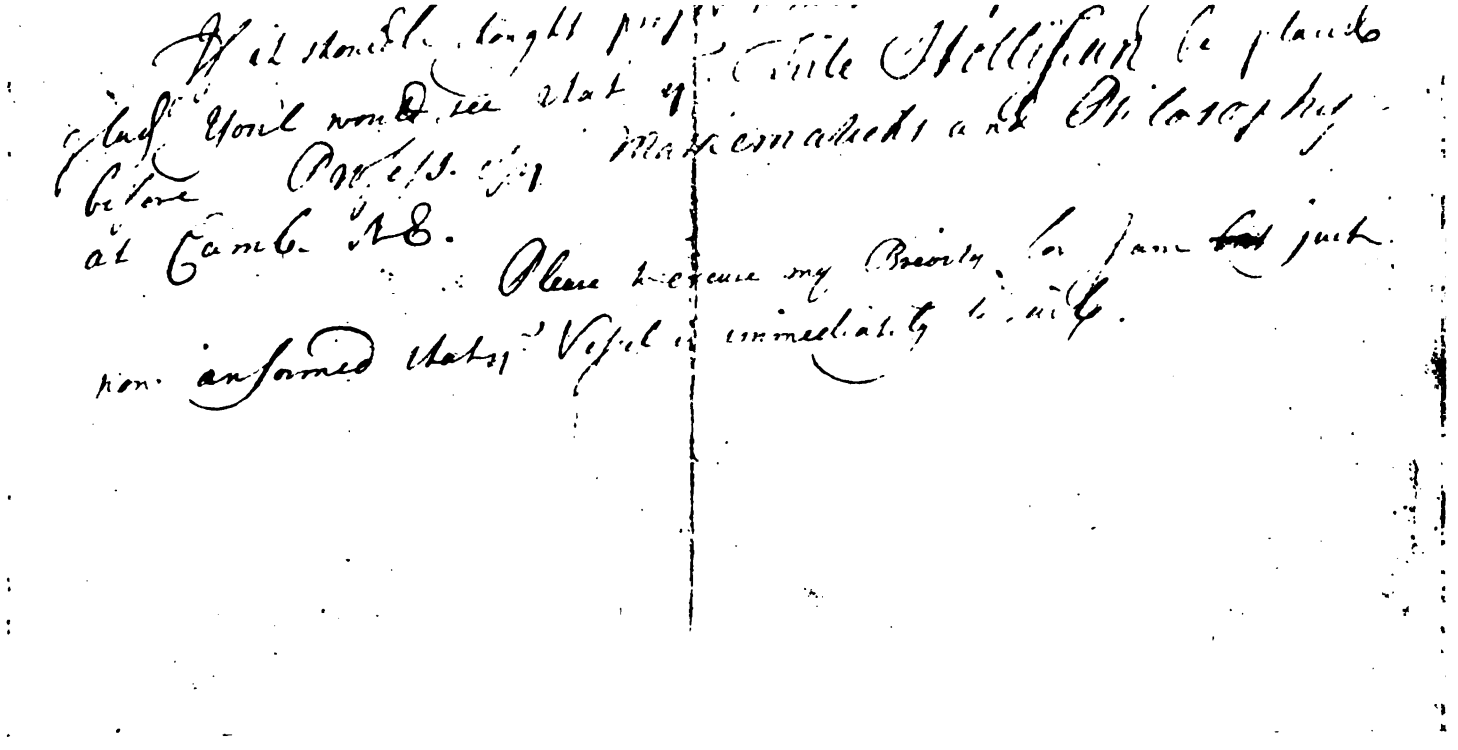
N. E. Camb. April 28 1732.

55

I perceive by Yours that a Packet sent to you upwards of a Year since miscarried in which was an Answer to your Request relating to ye Inscription on ye Rock at Taunton. I am luckily this first Opportunity to send finding a Copy thereof. And with Thanks to you for your Favours I am with all due Respect

Sir

Your Obliged Humble Sert



GREENWOOD LETTER C, APRIL 28, 1732

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.190

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Conclusion

Our present task is at an end. The further history of delineation and discussion of the message of this cryptic rock is quite as full of interest, of variety, of uncorrected error, of forgotten theories, of unpublished or unassembled material, as that which we have surveyed. But its consideration must be reserved for another occasion. For the period that we have dealt with, covering about the first century of possible acquaintance with the rock by white men, we found at the start a very small amount indeed of reliable information. Although we are probably far from having attained ideal accuracy or from having discovered all possible sources of pertinent material, yet we have now approached toward this ideal quite materially. At the start, we found a number of positive statements concerning knowledge of the rock by the colonists, and absence of knowledge by the Indians. We can now quite as positively claim that no such statements are supported by evidence. Of historical facts, we had only these: that "Dr." Danforth made a drawing in 1680, and the brief observation given in the body of Greenwood's letter; that Cotton Mather gave out drawings apparently different from Danforth's in 1690 and in 1712, and an exceedingly brief and empty description; that a brief phrase, discovered by Baxter, was to be added to Danforth's account; that Greenwood made a drawing and wrote a letter in 1730, to a correspondent about whose identity conflicting claims have been made, of which an excerpt was published by Lort and a full transcript by Bushnell; and that another letter by Greenwood was written in 1732, and also transcribed by Bushnell. To these meagre and not wholly reliable statements we can now add a very respectable number of fresh discoveries. The Danforth was John Danforth, and the "Dr." an easily explainable error. The date of his drawing was not 1688 or thereabout, as it seemed unavoidable to conclude from earlier probabilities, in spite of Greenwood's statement, but really 1680, and in October. Cotton Mather's "upper line" was not really new, but was a bad copy of Danforth's; and his lower "line" is without a peer in misrepresentation. His own original letter of 1712 differs somewhat from its reproduction in the Philosophical Transactions. There exists a "Mather Broadside," whose date we do not know. Samuel Sewall showed an interest in Dighton Rock in 1691. The rock was visited about 1730, not only by Green-

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wood, but by persons no less eminent than Dean Berkeley and John Smibert. Of the theories of Berkeley we are given some account. Smibert is said to have made a drawing, which seems to have entirely disappeared. The confused and conflicting statements about Greenwood and his letter or letters have been cleared up, the several versions of the letter traced to their sources, and the actual facts about it definitely determined.

Nevertheless we cannot close this chapter in the story of the tide-worn and controversy-worn Writing Rock with entire satisfaction. A number of unsolved problems remain on our hands, of which there is no reason to despair of a possible solution. Is there not somewhere existent definite information, besides the little we have gathered and earlier than Greenwood's belated observations of 1730, about what use the Indians actually made of Assonet Neck? Did not some of the earliest settlers near-by make mention of the rock before 1680? Are there no letters or other papers by John Danforth himself, descriptive of his visit to the Rock? Is there no documentary proof of the source from which Cotton Mather obtained both the upper part and the lower part of his drawings? Who issued the "Mather Broadside," and when, and for what reason? And where now is the lost Smibert drawing? It will be one of the happiest results of the publishing of this paper, if some or all of these questions may receive an answer.

LIST OF PLATES ACCOMPANYING THIS PAPER

I Burgess Photograph of Dighton Rock, 1868, from an original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, between pages 234–235.

II Best Known Drawings of Dighton Rock made before the Introduction of Photography, from the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1893, Plate LIV, between pages 238–239.

III Lort's Reproduction of Danforth's Drawing, 1680, from Archaeologia, 1787, VIII, Plate XVIII, facing page 242.

III Cotton Mather's Drawing, 1690, from Mather's Wonderful Works of God Commemorated, 1690, facing page 242.

IV Cotton Mather's Drawing, 1712, from Philosophical Transactions, 1714, XXIX, No. 339, facing page 246.

V Mather Broadside, from an original in the possession of the Yale University Library, facing page 250.

VI Comparisons of the Danforth Drawing 1680, the Mather Drawing 1690, the Mather Broadside, and the Mather Drawing 1712, between pages 254–255.

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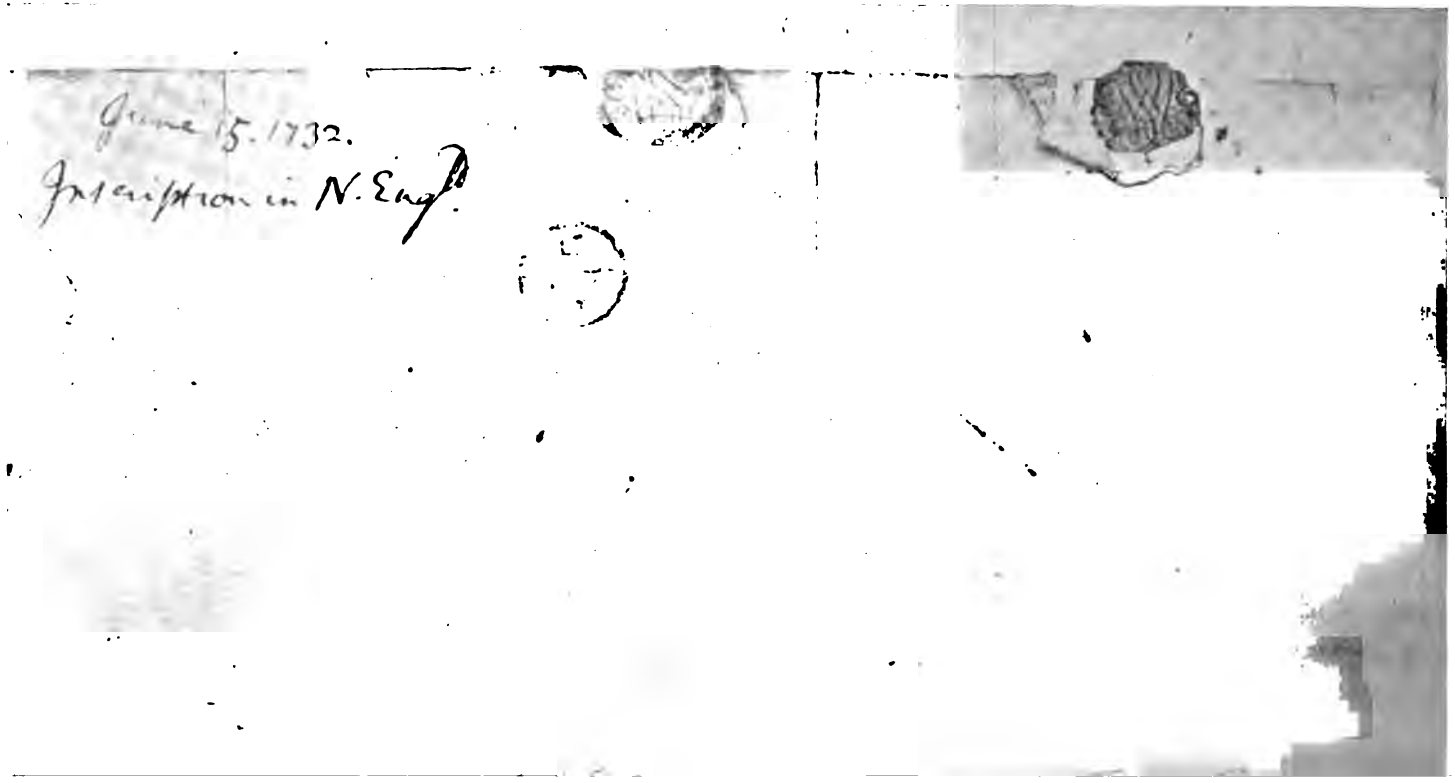

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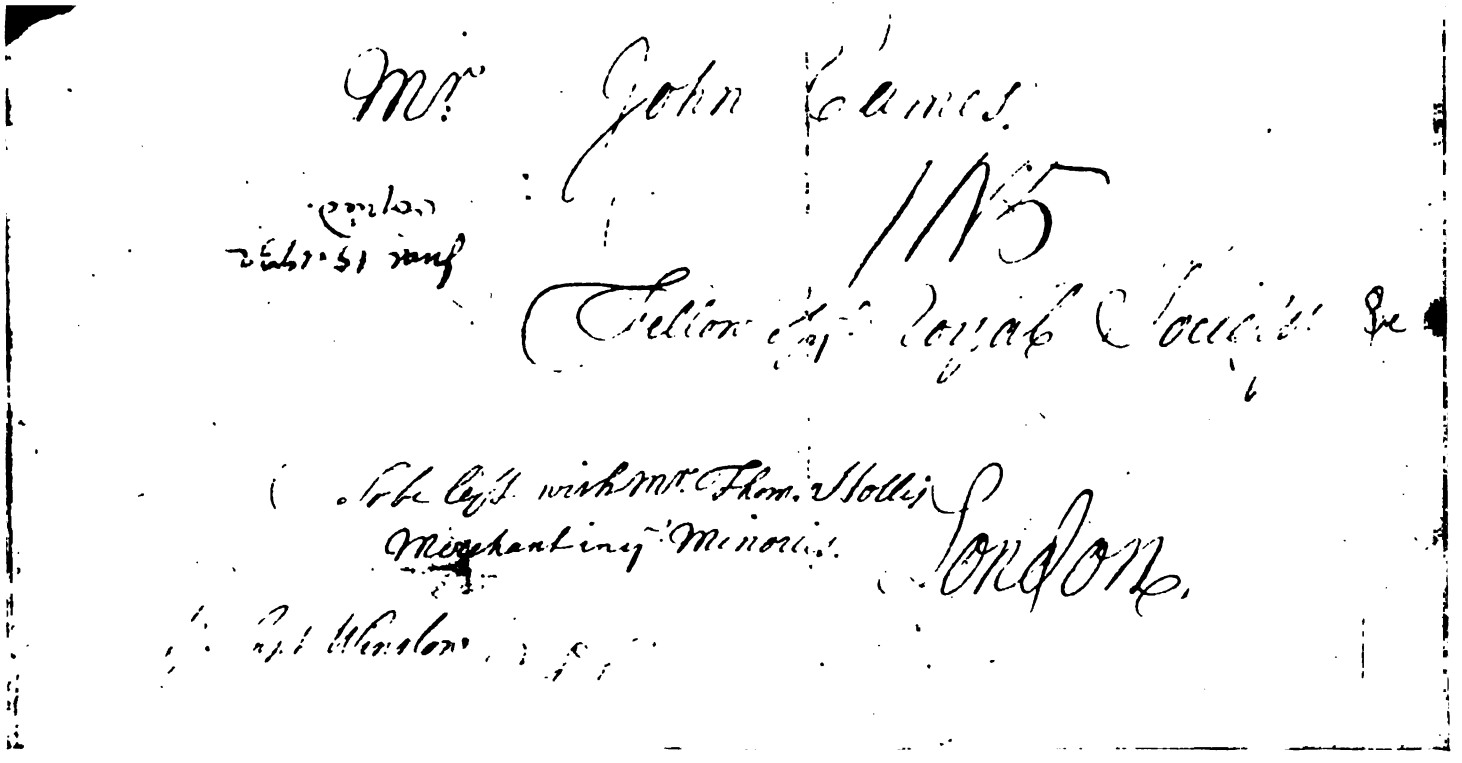

GREENWOOD LETTER C, APRIL 28, 1732

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 4432.190 DORSE

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VII Lort's Reproduction of Greenwood's Drawing, 1730, from Archaeologia, 1787, VIII, Plate XVIII, facing page 258.

VIII Greenwood Letter A, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 6402.106, between pages 262–263.

IX Greenwood Letter A, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 6402.106 dorse, between pages 266–267.

X Greenwood Letter A, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 6402.107, between pages 270–271.

XI Greenwood Letter A, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 6402.47, between pages 274–275.

XII Greenwood Letter B, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.185, between pages 278–279.

XIII Greenwood Letter B, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.185 dorse, between pages 282–283.

XIV Greenwood Letter B, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.186, facing page 284.

XV Greenwood Letter B, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.187,188, between pages 288–289.

XVI Greenwood Letter B, December 8, 1730, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.189, between pages 292–293.

XVII Greenwood Letter C, April 28, 1732, from the original in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 4432.190, between pages 296–297.

XVIII Greenwood Letter C, April 28, 1732, from the original in the British Museum 4432.190 dorse, between pages 298–299.

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS read the following paper:

A CONFLICT IN THE OFFICIAL RECORDS

The fact that official publications of the State of Massachusetts furnish more than one date for the original charter of the town of Charlton, would not of itself furnish to others than those interested in the local history of the region a motive for an extended research among the archives and official documents of the Commonwealth in order to determine which was the right date, but when it appears that the date finally accepted at the State House is not the same as that given in the well-known publication entitled the Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, the question rises in importance, for such points were not settled by those who had charge of that publication without careful examination. It happens

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that the Act establishing Charlton as a district was printed in the Province Laws before Mr. Goodell personally assumed the editorship of that publication, so that one may challenge the accuracy of the date given therein without impugning his judgment. Indeed, it is quite probable that he knew nothing about the steps taken at that time to determine this date, since his oversight of the work as Commissioner was interrupted during the preparation of Volume III for the press by protracted illness. At any rate, whoever may be responsible for it, there is doubt as to the accuracy of the date given in that volume for the establishment of the district of Charlton, and the circumstances which probably led to the acceptance of the one which was adopted are curious and interesting.

Towns were originally created in the Colony of Massachusetts without much formality, perhaps in consequence of doubt whether a mercantile company had power to create corporations of any sort, no matter what their nature. The one conspicuous violation of this proposition, the incorporation of Harvard College, took place in the days of the Commonwealth. Under the Province, the right to exercise this power seems to have been tacitly acknowledged and was freely exercised. The custom then grew up of engrossing on parchment the Acts creating new towns and of depositing these engrossed Acts in the archives. It follows that in cases where this step has been complied with, no question can arise as to the date of a charter. It happens that no such document is to be found in the archives in the case of Charlton. There is, however, in the hands of the town clerk of that place, what he himself terms "a contemporary copy of the original charter of Charlton," and he adds: "The date of the Charter is Jan. 10, 1755." [1] It is probable that this date must be accepted, and it is reasonable to suppose that the doubts which have grown up about it would never have arisen, had the various investigators who sought to ascertain it applied directly to Charlton. Any person who has read the reports of the Commissioner of Public Records from year to year will understand why the town clerk's office did not suggest itself as a place of inquiry concerning the date of a charter. The custody of the papers and records of the town was deputed to the care of the town clerk. Such a thing as a town safe was almost unheard of. Few of the town clerks realized the historical value of the papers

[1] Letter of Frank O. Wales, town clerk, February 17, 1916.

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placed temporarily in their hands, and as a result the documents were exposed to all sorts of vicissitudes in the various houses where they were from year to year deposited. If the records and papers of any town have been carefully preserved, it has been by rare good luck.

There are two official publications of the State of Massachusetts to which the ordinary investigator would naturally turn for information as to the date of a charter of a town established prior to the revolution. The first of these is the Manual of the General Court, which furnishes the date of the creation of all towns in the Commonwealth, and the second is the publication generally spoken of as the Province Laws. A third official source of information, not so generally known, is the report of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Public Records. This was published in 1889 and contains information of the same character. It furnishes no new knowledge on the subject, since it refers to the Province Laws as authority for the date of incorporation of Charlton. There are, in addition, the contemporary publications of the laws passed during the provincial period, but these are classified by sessions and do not give the dates of the passage of specific acts.

The Manual is published annually for the benefit of the members of the General Court and contains, besides the names of the State officials and of the legislators, much condensed information as to the counties and towns in the Commonwealth. From time to time since this volume was first issued new tables have been added to its contents and it has now become a *vade-mecum* for the members of the legislature, without which they would be at a loss to know where to turn to gain the information contained in its pages. In 1871 the practice began of furnishing the dates of the charters of the towns in this Commonwealth, and, if originally incorporated as a district, the date of that incorporation. The date of a charter does not change from time to time, and presumably the date first inserted in the Manual should appear thereafter from year to year. Such was not the case, however, in regard to the charter of Charlton. From 1871 to 1891 inclusive, the Manual gives the date of that charter as November 2, 1754. From 1892 to 1900 inclusive, the date is given as November 21, 1754. From 1901 to the present time the date has been given as January 10, 1755.

Any person seeking for the date of this charter would necessarily

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assume its stability. He would, therefore, feel at liberty to quote the date given in any one of the forty-five volumes of the Manual containing this information. If by chance he sought to corroborate the date that he found by consulting the Province Laws, he would find that October 21, 1754, was the date of the passage of the charter according to that authority, a date which agrees with that given in eight only of these volumes.

If he should seek for explanation of these discrepancies he would find a possible explanation for the first date given in the Manual in the fact that this is the date given for the incorporation of the town of Charlton by Peter Whitney in his History of the County of Worcester.[1] This work is a standard and is in its way reliable and fairly accurate, but is hardly to be accepted as a suitable basis for an official announcement of this kind in a State publication. It was published in 1793, and it is probable that the compiler of the table in the Manual in 1871, not finding the Engrossed Act in the archives, turned to Whitney's pages for information as to the date. The language used in the History is: "This Town was taken wholly from Oxford, and was the westerly part thereof: It was incorporated November 2d, 1754, and then received its present name" (p. 221).

On the second of November, 1754, the legislation which finally resulted in the incorporation of Charlton as a district was in its preliminary stages and consisted merely of the appointment of a joint committee to consider the subject and make report thereon. The date given in the History must, therefore, have been an error, and probably was a compositor's error. It is not unlikely that Whitney wrote November 21, a date for which authority is to be found in the Records of the General Court, for the statement which he made and the compositor when setting it in type mistook the numeral one for a letter *d*.

What was sufficient to satisfy a historian seeking merely for the first official record of an incorporation, no matter what its form, would not necessarily be enough for one, who, like the editor of the Province Laws, was seeking for the date of an incorporation of a district, the details of which were at his command in the pages of the contemporary

[1] Whitney's error was reproduced by Anson Titus, Jr., in Charlton Historical Sketches (p. 21), but George F. Daniels in his History of the Town of Oxford (p. 40) and John Haven in his Historical Address (p. 7) give the date January 10, 1755. So also do each of the two histories of Worcester County published respectively in 1879 (i. 374) and 1889 (i. 746).

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publication of the perpetual laws. So far as he was concerned, there was no reason for choice between November, 1754, and January, 1755; but the thought suggests itself that a clue to the time of the passage of the Act might be inferred from its position in chronological sequence in the perpetual laws. If, however, we consult the preface to the first volume of the Province Laws, we find that the arrangement of the Acts in those volumes "is not strictly chronological, nor could it be made so without disarranging the order uniformly pursued in the early editions." In other words, the clue fails us because the arrangement in the early editions is not strictly chronological.

It is not essential to follow in detail the action of the General Court in reaching a final decision to incorporate Charlton as a district, but in order to understand how the date November 21, 1754, could have been selected for a result which apparently was not actually reached until January 10, 1755, it is important to examine some of those details. This examination will disclose certain unexpected features in the progress of the legislation as recorded in the official records which are in themselves interesting and call for explanation.

The matter first turns up in the Records, April 8, 1754, when a petition signed by William Allton and others, inhabitants of the west part of Oxford, setting forth the great distance of their homes from the body of the town and the inconvenience of attending worship there, and praying that they might be set off with their families and estates into a separate town or district, was presented to the General Court.[1] Some of these people lived ten miles from the church which they were through taxation obliged to support.

There was no question that those thus situated were entitled to relief, and the town clerk of Oxford was ordered to appear at a given day and show cause why the prayer of the petition should not be granted. In due time the answer of the town clerk was filed and thereafter a joint committee was appointed which reported November 7, 1754, in favor of the petitioners. A bill was, on November 9, introduced in the House for setting off the inhabitants as also the estates of the westerly part of Oxford, and also the westerly part of the Country Gore, into a separate district by the name of , and a second reading was ordered for the next succeeding Tuesday. This is the last that is heard of this particular bill, but on the 13th of November a

[1] The petition is in the Archives, cxvi. 586.

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new bill was introduced in the House having similar import with the exception that its purpose was to incorporate the same persons and estates into a town by the name of . This bill was read a first, second, and third time, and was passed to be engrossed and was sent up for concurrence. In the Council it was read once on the thirteenth, twice on the fourteenth, and on the same day a concurrence was voted. These dates and these facts are taken from a copy of the bill to be found in the Archives.[1]

Under date of November 21, 1754, there is an entry in the General Court Records[2] to the following purport: "An engrossed Bill, entitled an Act for setting off the inhabitants as also the estates of the westerly part of Oxford, as also the westerly part of the Country Gore into a separate town by the name of having been read three several times in the House of Representatives and in Council, Passed to be enacted by both Houses and signed by the Governor." Here we have in the official records authority for the positive statement of the final passage of an Act incorporating a town, as yet nameless, but comprehending within its bounds the area known as Charlton.

In the Province Laws, the editor sought to append to each Act not only the date of its passage but also the date of the publication thereof, and the Commissioners quote, in a note to their preface to the first volume,[3] from an order of the General Court in 1673 to the effect that all laws and orders of every session thought fit to be published should "be read in the Market Place, Boston, upon the fifth day being a lecture day, within ten days after the end of such sessions, which being performed is, and shall be accounted sufficient publication." The official publication of Province Acts, whatever the method may have been, was not always easy to ascertain, and there are many in the different volumes of the Province Laws of which only the date of the passage could be learned. In such cases the editor was obliged to content himself with the date of the passage of the Act. The Act relating to the charter of Charlton is one of those which lack a date of publication.[4] Whether the publication of the Act was an essential for its validity or not, it would seem as though this statement of the

[1] cxvi. 764.
[2] xx. 327.
[3] Province Laws, vol. i. p. xxv.
[4] Province Laws, iii. 781.

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passage of the Act on the pages of the official document in which the doings of the General Court are recorded, was adequate to relieve Peter Whitney from the charge of having no basis for the date given in his History for the incorporation of Charlton, provided the conjecture is correct that he put down November 21 in his manuscript which was converted by the compositor into November 2d.

On the other hand, the person who decided the date in the Province Laws had several reasons for not accepting November 21 as the date of the passage of the Act actually published in Volume III of that publication. The language of the Act as given in that volume corresponds with the language used in a contemporary publication of the perpetual laws, in which the incorporation of Charlton is described as a district, and the territory included in that district does not comprehend the Country Gore — two vital differences. If we could say positively that reliance was had on the entry that we have quoted for the determination of the date given in that document, we should have a right to say that there was gross carelessness displayed in this acceptance. As matters stand we can only say that there is no other evident record upon which that opinion could have been based, and that being the case there is a probability that the date given in the Province Laws rests upon the record quoted. Had the editor examined the House Journal he would have found evidence, that notwithstanding the statement in the Court Records to the effect that the Governor had signed the bill, such was not actually the case. Under date of January 6, 1755, the following entry is made in the Journal:

> Ordered, That the Secretary be directed to attend the House, who accordingly attended, and Mr. Speaker was pleased to ask him, Whether the bill for creating the westerly part of Oxford into a town was passed the Honorable Board, and signed by his Excellency the Governor?
>
> Mr. Secretary informed the House that the Council had passed the Bill and that it had been laid before the Governor, and he had not signed it.

Thereupon a bill entitled "An Act for setting off the inhabitants as also the estates of the westerly part of Oxford into a separate district by the name of " was read a first time.

It may be inferred from the rapidity of the action of the representatives in introducing a new bill that they already knew that the previous bill had been held up by the Governor and from the change

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of the form of organization in the new bill from town to district that they realized what his probable objections were. Perhaps also the dropping of the Country Gore may indicate a reason. Nothing appears in the records to indicate that objection was raised to the older bill by the residents of that section, but at a later date the inhabitants of the Gore vigorously resisted annexation to Charlton.

There is evidence existing that Governor Shirley was opposed to the incorporation of new towns, and it was in consequence of suggestions originating with him that "Additional Instructions" were prepared in 1743, authorizing the erection of "Precincts, Parishes or Villages" without the liberty of sending representatives to the General Court, but requiring the submission to his Majesty of bills for creating new or dividing old towns, before they should go into effect.[1] Shirley had written to the Lords of Trade, a letter in which he recommended this proceeding and spoke of the effect that creating new towns had in "increasing the number of Representatives," which he said "seems to promise no good effect for his Majesty's service." To prevent this increase he suggested that "Precincts, Parishes or Villages" might be erected with "all the Officers and Privileges of a Township except that of sending Representatives" to the General Court, thus securing for the petitioners for new towns the substance of their desires without violating the clause of the charter which provided that each town might have two representatives. It is evident from the use of the words "Precincts, Parishes or Villages" in the Instructions that those who framed them had Shirley's letter in mind. For some reason the General Court seems to have preferred to call these new organizations districts rather than precincts, parishes or villages. It may be added that all districts were made towns by an Act passed August 23, 1775.

The protean bill, first introduced for the purpose of incorporating what was afterwards called Charlton into a district, then suddenly changed to the founding of a town and now posing as the creator of a district, must evidently have had its career influenced by Shirley's well-known hostility to the erection of new townships, but why the representatives should have cared to select the township form for the organization of the place with all the delays necessarily inherent upon such a course is not clear. In seeking to make Charlton a town, they

[1] Province Laws, iii. 70–72.

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had first to overcome Shirley's opposition, and if his acquiescence should be gained, they still had to encounter the delay caused by the submission of the bill to the Lords of Trade with the probability that opposition to its approval would develop in the Board. In any event the securing the approbation of the Board would take months.

If we now recur to this bill for "setting off the Inhabitants as also the Estates of the westerly part of Oxford into a separate District by the name of ," which was introduced in the House January 6, 1755, and then had its first reading, we find that it was amended on the 8th and read a second and third time and passed to be engrossed on the 9th. On the 10th the enactment is recorded in the House Journal, and on the same day the concurrence of the Council is recorded in the Court Records, the fact that it had been signed by the Governor not being stated.

The Act was printed on pages 466 and 467 of the laws of the session begun May 29, 1754, and continued by adjournment to October 17, 1754. No specific date is given for the passage of the bill. It was not included in the edition of the perpetual laws published in 1759.

The contemporary copy of the charter in the hands of the town clerk seems to be the most conclusive authority as to the date of the charter. The record of the enactment of the bill is corroborative, even though there is no statement that the Governor had signed it, but it is evident that those who have had to determine officially what that date was have had at their hands a perplexing question to settle.

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APRIL MEETING, 1916

THE STATED MEETING of the Society for this month, postponed by vote of the Council, was held, by invitation of Mr. Edward Channing, at No. 74 Sparks Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, 4 May, 1916, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS of Boston was elected a Resident Member.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Mr. JOHN TROWBRIDGE, the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, and Mr. JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. WINSLOW WARREN and WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Mr. CHANNING spoke at length on the cost of living in 1800, basing his conclusions on investigations as to the cost of sundry necessities of living during the close of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. He drew his data largely from contemporary Boston and New York newspapers, and from manuscript records at Mt. Vernon, Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston, including a careful tabulation of expenses and income by the Rev. Dr. John Pierce of Brookline, which covered a long period of years. The conclusion was reached that the cost of living had during the past century increased about twenty-five per cent.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

HARVARD COMMENCEMENT DAYS
1642–1916

One of the College Laws of 1642–1646 reads as follows:

15. Every Scholar shall bee called by his Sirname onely till hee bee invested with his first degree; except hee bee fellow-commoner or a Knights Eldest Sonne or of superiour Nobility.[1]

The privileged class of fellow-commoners we did have here for about a century, but, with a single exception, the eldest sons of knights[2] and those "of superiour Nobility" never darkened Harvard's doors. On taking his first degree, or A.B., a scholar was, following the practice at English universities, called "Dominus" or "Sir," the latter designation remaining in use down to the first decade of the nineteenth century.[3] On taking his second degree, or A.M., the quondam student was called "Mr." The above law — which, unfortunately for the peace of mind of the present writer, was seldom violated — has made extraordinarily difficult the identification of students when, as was often the case, there were at College at the same time two or more of the same surname.

When work was begun on the index to the Corporation Records now in course of preparation, it was at once found that it would be absolutely necessary to ascertain, if possible, the exact date of Commencement Day in each year; for according as that day fell was to

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[1] College Book, i. 43.

[2] Henry Saltonstall (1642) was a son, but not the eldest son, of a knight (Sir Richard Saltonstall). The only eldest son of a knight known to have been a student at Harvard was William Mildmay (1647), whose parentage has long been in dispute. It can now be stated, though the story is too long to be given in detail here, that he was not (as alleged by Savage and others) a son of Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces, Little Baddow, Essex, but was the eldest son of Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead, Essex. These two Sir Henry Mildmays were second cousins, both great-grandsons of Thomas Mildmay of Chelmsford, Essex. The Harvard graduate was a great-grandson of Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

[3] The latest instance I have noted is an allusion to "Sir Ballard, a resident Graduate" under date of December 2, 1801 (College Book, viii. 408). Cf. Publications of this Society, viii. 295 note.

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be determined the identity of certain students. Thus in 1728 it was voted "that Rogers . . . shall have four pounds ten shillings" from a certain fund. During that year there were or may have been at College no fewer than five Rogerses, namely: Daniel (1707–1785), Daniel (1706–1782), and Samuel, all in the class of 1725; John, in the class of 1728; and John (1712–1789), in the class of 1732. Commencement came on June 28. As the vote was passed before June 28, it follows that the Rogers in question was John Rogers of the class of 1728. Had the vote been passed after June 28, then the student receiving the money would have been John Rogers of the class of 1732. If the vote had been passed after June 28 and it had been the intention of the Corporation to bestow the exhibition on John Rogers of the class of 1728, then the money would have been voted to "Sir Rogers." If the money had been voted to "Sir Rogers" before June 28, or to "Mr. Rogers" after June 28, then the recipient would have been one of the three Rogerses who were members of the class of 1725.[1]

No list of Commencement Days from 1642 to 1916 has ever been compiled, but there are in existence two lists from 1642 to 1700. The late John Ward Dean, who compiled one of these in 1879, wrote:

> THE Rev. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, published in 1702, states (1st ed. bk. iv. p. 128; ster. eds. vol. ii. p. 12) that commencement day "was formerly the second Tuesday of August, but since, the first Wednesday in July." As near as I can ascertain, it was the second Tuesday in August from 1642 to 1681; in 1682 and 1683, the second Wednesday in September; in 1684, the first Tuesday in July; and in 1685 the day was changed to that last given by Mather, the first Wednesday in July.[2]

Thereupon Mr. Dean gave a table showing "the days of the month on which these days fall during the seventeenth century." Mr. Dean's list, it is thus seen, was purely theoretical; and as a conse-

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[1] There are numerous instances where graduates, even after taking their A.M., remained in residence. I have nowhere seen any allusion to this fact, and, though many were no doubt studying theology, it is difficult to know exactly what they were doing. Thus Daniel Rogers (1706–1782) was still in residence on September 8, 1729; while Daniel Rogers (1707–1785) remained in residence as late as April 11, 1732 — or seven years after graduation.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 423.

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quence his dates, though of course often correct, are so only by chance.[1]

The other list was compiled in 1895 by Dr. Samuel A. Green, who, as might be expected, proceeded on a different plan. "No attempt," he says, "has ever been made, so far as I know, to give a list of Commencement Days at Harvard College in early times, as gathered from contemporary records."[2] But in his list, valuable as it is, Dr. Green relies too much on almanacs, no fewer than twelve dates[3] being derived from that source alone. Moreover, many contemporary records escaped him, while several Commencement programmes, unknown in 1895, have recently been discovered in foreign universities. Hence a new list is imperative. To the term "contemporary records" I give a stricter interpretation than did Dr. Green, and by it mean a document printed or written on, or within a few days of, a particular Commencement Day itself.

The present list is derived from the following sources:

(1) The Theses. "At the *Commencement*," wrote Cotton Mather, "it has been the Annual Custom for the *Batchelors* to publish a Sheet of *Theses, pro virili Defendendæ*, upon all or most of the *Liberal Arts*; among which they do, with a particular Character, distinguish those that are to be the Subjects of the *Publick Disputations* then before them; and those *Theses* they *dedicate* as handsomely as they can, to the Persons of Quality, but especially the Governour of the Province, whose Patronage the *Colledge* would be recommended unto."[4] These were printed as broadsides during a period of one hundred and sixty-nine years, from 1642 to 1810, both included; and, as there were two Commencements in 1653, there were 170 Commencement Days during that period. But there were no graduates in 1644, 1648, 1672, 1682, and 1688[5] — thus reducing the largest possible number of

[1] Of the fifty-nine dates given by Mr. Dean, eight (1643, 1646–1650, 1682, 1689) are certainly wrong, one (1642) is probably wrong, while two (1644, 1645) are doubtful.

[2] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 194–205, 360; xii. 72–73, 285–286.

[3] 1646, 1648, 1673, 1677, 1683, 1691, 1693, 1695, 1696, 1698–1700. The present paper cites contemporary records for all these dates except two — 1648 and 1673.

[4] Magnalia (1702), bk. iv. p. 131.

[5] On July 4, 1688, Sewall wrote: "Commencement managed wholly by Mr. Wm Hubbard; compared Sir William [Phips], in his Oration, to Jason fetching the Golden Fleece. Masters proceeded, no Batchelours" (Diary, ii. 219). Yet else-

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Theses to 165. This number must be still further reduced by 82, since 68 Theses have not been preserved,[1] 13 have the year only printed on them,[2] while one (1643) has the year and the month but not the day. This leaves 83 that are fully dated. But three even of these (1723, 1768, and 1772[3]) must be rejected, since errors have been made in the dates.[4] Thus out of a possible 165 Theses, only 80 (or 48 per cent) are available for our purpose.[5]

(2) The Quaestiones. "The *Masters* do," said Mather, "in an half-sheet, without any *Dedication*, publish only the *Quæstiones pro Modulo discutiendæ*, which they purpose either Affirmatively or Negatively to maintain as *Respondents*, in the *Disputations*, which are by them to be managed."[6] These were printed as broadsides during a period of one hundred and forty-seven years, from 1645 to 1791, both included. But there were no candidates in 1647, 1651, 1657, 1671, 1685, and 1691, thus reducing the largest possible number of these sheets to 141. This number must be still further reduced by

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where he wrote under date of June 30, 1688: "Writt to . . . Brother . . . Stephen; . . . In Brother Stephen's I inclosed the Cōmencers Theses" (Letter-Book, i. 85). Perhaps this entry was made some days after June 30 and Sewall inadvertently wrote "Cōmencers Theses" instead of "Quaestiones."

[1] 1642, 1645, 1649–1652, 1654–1669, 1671, 1673–1677, 1679–1681, 1683–1686, 1690, 1692, 1694–1707, 1709, 1710, 1712–1716, 1718, 1724, 1728, 1729, 1736, 1752, 1757, 1764, 1774, and 1775. The Theses for 1642 were printed at Cambridge, but no copies are extant. Presumably they were dated, but if so the date was omitted when the Theses were reprinted in London in 1643 in New Englands First Fruits (pp. 18–20). Sewall mentions the Theses for 1707: see p. 335 note 2, below. President Stiles once owned the Theses for 1713, but his copy cannot now be located. Theses were printed in 1728 and 1729: see p. 338 note 3, below.

[2] 1687, 1689, 1721, 1727, 1730–1735, 1737–1739.

[3] See pp. 332, 351, 352, below.

[4] The year-date on the Theses for 1761 is also misprinted — "M,DCC,XLI." instead of "M,DCC,LXI." — but that misprint carries its own refutation. For another misprint in the year-date in 1808, see p. 366, below.

[5] There were no public Commencements in 1752, 1757, 1764, 1774–1780. No Quaestiones are extant for any of those years, and no Theses for 1752, 1757, 1764, 1774, and 1775. But as Theses were printed in 1776–1780, there seems to be no reason why they may not have been printed in the other years as well, and also the Quaestiones for each of those years. At all events, simply because no copies are extant we cannot assume that none were printed. What were known as "private Commencements" were held in 1727–1735, but Quaestiones were printed in each of those years, as were also Theses (though those for 1728 and 1729 are not extant: cf. note 1, above).

[6] Magnalia, bk. iv. p. 131.

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42, since 29 are not extant,[1] while 13 have the year only printed on them.[2] This leaves 99 that are fully dated.[3] But one of these (1723[4]) must be rejected because the date is wrong. Thus out of a possible 141 Quaestiones, only 98 (or 69 per cent) are available for our purpose.[5]

(3) The Triennial Catalogues. The known copies of those printed after 1715 have the year only on them. Of the four extant printed in or before 1715 — namely, in 1674, 1682, 1700, and 1715 — that for 1674 has no date at all, leaving only three available for our purpose. These are dated as follows, our calendar being indicated at the right within parentheses:

BOSTONÆ Nov-Anglorum; Die Sexto ante Idus Sextiles. *Anno.* 1682. (August 8, 1682)

CANTABRIGIÆ *NOV-ANGLORUM* Tertio Quintilis. MDCC. (July 3, 1700)

CANTABRIGIÆ NOV-ANGLORUM Pridie Kalendas Septembres, M DCC XV. (August 31, 1715)[6]

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[1] 1645, 1646, 1648–1650, 1652, 1654, 1661, 1662, 1667, 1670, 1672, 1673, 1677, 1683, 1706, 1721, 1752, 1757, 1764, 1774–1780, 1782, and 1783.

[2] 1722, 1727, 1730–1739, 1741.

[3] It is not necessary to give here the Theses and Quaestiones that are fully dated, since they are all noted in the list on pp. 378–384, below.

[4] See p. 332, below.

[5] It will be observed that many more Quaestiones than Theses have been preserved. No doubt Mr. Lane's conjecture is correct: "It is likely that the fire of 1764 was the cause of the destruction of many of the earlier Theses for it is to be noted that of the 21 sheets extant between 1642 and 1726 (85 years) the College Library has only four, while of the 58 extant Quaestiones falling within the same period, the College has 56. From this date down the file of both sheets in the College Library is fairly continuous. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that while the College file of Quaestiones escaped destruction in some way in 1764, the file of Theses perished." Mr. Lane's exhaustive and very useful article on Early Harvard Broadsides will be found in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1914, xxiv. 264–304.

[6] In describing in 1907 a file of the Boston News Letter owned by the Boston Athenaeum, I wrote: "In a communication to this Society made in October, 1864, on 'Catalogues of Harvard University,' Sibley, speaking of the Triennial Catalogues, said: 'A few years since, I found an excellent copy of the one for 1715, bound near the middle of a volume of the "Boston News Letter" of that year, which is in the Library of the Boston Athenaeum. Being of the same size as the newspaper, it had till then escaped observation' (1 Proceedings, viii. 31). This catalogue is no longer in the volume" (3 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 205). When Mr. Lane was preparing his paper on Early Har-

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(4) Newspapers. These would be among our most valuable sources of information but for two facts: no regular newspaper was established in Boston until 1704; and, singular as it may seem, they did not, so far as is known,[1] deign to print an account of Commencement until 1728.[2]

(5) The archives of the College, namely: (a) the Corporation Records, (b) the Overseers' Records, (c) President Leverett's Diary, (d) President Wadsworth's Diary, and (e) the Steward's Account Book kept by Thomas Chesholme from 1650 to 1659. These archives might naturally be expected to yield ample and decisive evidence. For a variety of reasons, however, such is unfortunately not the case. Sometimes the specific date is omitted;[3] sometimes a meeting was held on Commencement Day, but the fact that it was Commencement Day is not stated;[4] and sometimes — just as was the case with the Theses and the Quaestiones — a wrong date was given.[5] More

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vard Broadsides, he asked me whether the missing Triennial had since turned up, and I was obliged to report that it had not; but recently I found it bound in a volume of broadsides to which it had been removed.

[1] This statement is based on an examination of every known copy of every Boston newspaper of the proper date from 1704 to 1728, my thanks being due to the librarians of the American Antiquarian Society, the Connecticut Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for information about certain issues. Of a few issues of the right date, no copies are known.

[2] Nevertheless the dates of two Commencements before 1728, did we not know them from other sources, could be recovered from newspapers. The following notice is from the Boston News Letter of July 24, 1704: "Mr. *Thomas Weld*, a pious Youth, Son to the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Weld*, Minister of *Dunstable*, who took his Second Degree at *Cambridge* on the 5th Instant, Sickened on the Fryday following, Dyed the 21st Currant at *Braintrey*, and Buried at *Roxbury* the 22d" (p. 4/1). For the other instance, see p. 339, below.

[3] "The Rev^{d} m^{r} Urian Oakes was Installed Presid^{t} of Harvard College by Govern. Bradstreet in the College-Hall on the Com̄encm^{t} day. August 1680" (College Book, iii. 72). "Com̄encm^{t} Day at the Presid^{ts} House 1712" (iv. 43). "At a meeting of the Presid^{t} and Fellows of Harvard College in the Library on the Com̄encm^{t} Day 1718" (iv. 62).

[4] "At an Overseer's Meeting in the College Hall, 7° Iuly. 1714" (College Book, iv. 53). "At a Meeting of the Presid^{t} and Fellows of Harvard College at the Presid^{ts} House in Cambridge Iune 28, 1721" (iv. 72).

[5] On June 17, 1729, the Corporation "Voted, yt ye Commencement for this year, be upon Friday, ye twenty-seventh of this Jnstant June" (College Book, iv. 138). The record of this meeting, in the hand of President Wadsworth, is immediately followed by a "Memorandum, on Commencement day, Jun. 28. 1729," also written by President Wadsworth. In his Diary (p. 68), Wadsworth cor-

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often, however, Commencement Day is not mentioned at all. Thus, extraordinary as it may seem, the Overseers' Records mention Commencement Day (with a specific date) for the first time in 1684,[1] and not again until 1722;[2] while the Corporation Records do not furnish a specific date until 1711.[3] But notwithstanding these strange omissions — partly due to the fact that if the Corporation or the Overseers met on Commencement Day, no records of such meetings have been preserved — the College archives yield much valuable information, now used for the first time, except in so far as Dr. Green utilized the Steward's Account Book as printed by Sibley in his Harvard Graduates.[4]

(6) Diaries, journals, and letters, either in print or in manuscript; and manuscript entries in printed almanacs. Evidence derived from these sources must be accepted with great caution, since it is often difficult to determine whether such an entry was actually written at the time when it purports to have been written. Two illustrations may be given. The Rev. Samuel Brown wrote:

> I Samuel Brown was admited into Harvard College, at Cambridge on the third day of July, in the year 1705 in the eighteenth year of my age,
>
> And took my first degree on the second day of July Anno 1709, and made entrance upon the ministry preaching my first sermon at Haverhill, on the 22nd of July Anno 1710.[5]

Obviously this entry was not written until a year after the Commencement of 1709, which came not on July 2 (which was a Saturday) but on July 6. Hence Mr. Brown's memory played him false.

Under date of July 6, 1720, the Rev. Samuel Dexter wrote:

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rectly dates the entry, "Commencement. Jun. 27. 1729." "A Stated meeting of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College was held on Commencement day, the twenty seventh of June, A.D. 1870, at nine o'clock in the forenoon in Gore Hall, in Cambridge" (Overseers Records, x. 412): but Commencement Day in 1870 was June 28, not 27.

[1] College Book, i. 93.

[2] Overseers' Records, i. 34.

[3] College Book, iv. 39.

[4] The dates in the Steward's Account Book of Thomas Chesholme must be used with great caution.

[5] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 374. The entry may have been made as late as 1745.

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I took my first Degree, and as it was ye Desire of my parents, so it was my own also, to be Improv'd in Business, & not to live Idlely, some Schollars do, without being Improv'd. I was spoke to ye next Day after ye Commencement to go & keep school att Tanton, which I undertook, & kept ye school there half a Year.[1]

Mr. Dexter then goes on to speak of "this present time" — that is, December 4, 1722. But though the above entry was not written until two and a half years after his graduation, yet Mr. Dexter's memory was correct as to the day on which Commencement came in 1720.

It is thus seen that, in spite of the seemingly enormous mass of material, the available material is, previous to 1726, singularly meagre. Still, diligent search has established certain dates for all Commencement Days except those in 1642, 1643, 1645, 1648, 1652, 1657, 1661, 1662, and 1673; and of those nine, approximate dates can be assigned to all but three (1642, 1643, 1645).

Finally, it should be stated that one source of information, extensively used by Dr. Green, is here wholly rejected as unreliable — namely, almanacs. Commencement Day ran all the way from June 18 to some unspecified day in October. An almanac was necessarily compiled and published many months before Commencement; hence a date in an almanac is evidence not that Commencement fell, but that it was *expected to fall*, on that day. But, as we shall see, the day was sometimes suddenly changed by reason of an epidemic, as in 1721 and 1740; or, more often, as from 1727 to 1735, was not appointed until a few days before — in one instance (1730) only two days before. Moreover, there is at least one case where two almanacs for the same year give each a different date for Commencement.[2]

The remainder of these notes consists of a discussion of disputed or

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Registry, xiii. 305–306.

[2] Edward Holyoke's Almanack for 1715 gives August 31 as Commencement, while Nathaniel Whittemore's Almanack for 1715 gives July 6: the correct date was August 31. Other errors in almanacs are as follows. John Tulley's Almanack for 1689 gives July 3 as Commencement: the correct date was September 11. Whittemore's Almanack for 1721 gives July 5 as Commencement: the correct date was June 28. Nathan Bowen's New-England Diary for 1727 gives July 7 as Commencement: the correct date was June 30. Nathaniel Ames's Astronomical Diary for 1740 gives July 2 as Commencement: the correct date was August 27. Ames's Astronomical Diary for 1749 gives July 5 as Commencement: the correct date was July 18. George Wheten's Astronomical Diary for 1753 gives July 4 as Commencement: the correct date was July 18.

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peculiar facts, under each year; of an account of those (other than the Presidents or the Vice-President) who presided at Commencement; and of the places where the degrees have been conferred and the dinners held; after which is given a complete list of Commencement Days from 1642 to 1916.

1642

Strange statements have been made with regard to the day when the first Commencement was held. Apparently no one attempted to ascertain exactly when that was until 1833, when Benjamin Peirce wrote: "The first Commencement took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642" — that is, August 9. How Mr. Peirce obtained that date does not appear, and in the very next paragraph he says: "The same year in which the first Commencement took place, but previously to that event, an act was passed by the General Court establishing the Board of Overseers." [1] Now the order establishing the Board of Overseers was made September 27, 1642. There is, therefore, hopeless confusion in Mr. Peirce's statements. But his date for Commencement — August 9 — was adopted by Benjamin H. Hall in 1851,[2] by Mr. Dean in 1879,[3] by George Gary Bush in 1886,[4] and by Charles R. Joy and William R. Thayer in 1911.[5] In 1867 Robert C. Winthrop, after quoting a passage from Governor Winthrop dated October 5, 1642, went on to say: "This first Commencement at Cambridge, on the 9th of October, 1642, must have been a proud day for the infant Colony, and for all who had been concerned in founding its institutions." [6] And in 1873 Sibley, though on the very next page he quoted a passage which showed that Commencement must have been before September 26, remarked: "I do not find any record of the day or of the month, in 1642, when the first Commencement was held. Probably it was in October." [7] Why he thought so is not stated.

[1] History of Harvard University, p. 9.

[2] Collection of College Words and Customs, p. 55.

[3] See p. 310, above.

[4] Harvard the First American University, pp. 55–56.

[5] Harvard Graduates' Magazine, xx. 46, 250. In 1875 Edmund Quincy remarked: "Mr. Sibley finds himself unable to fix the precise day of the Commencement of 1642, but probably it was in August" (Harvard Book, ii. 152).

[6] Life and Letters of John Winthrop, ii. 301.

[7] Harvard Graduates, i. 15.

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Turning from these conjectures to contemporary records, there appear to be only two that bear on the matter. The first is a letter printed in London in 1643 which reads in part as follows:

4. *The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour, and diverse of the Ministers, their own words these.*

THE Students of the first Classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in University-Learning (*for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues and Arts*) *and are approved for their manners as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, our selves being present, at them; so have they lately kept two solemne Acts*[1] *for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their Exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations and Hebrew Analasis Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their Answers and Disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree,* (*commonly called Batchelour*) pro more Academiarum in Anglia: *Being*

[1] Attention may be called to a curious error that has crept into the Century Dictionary. In its academic sense the word "act" is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "a thesis publicly maintained by a candidate for a degree, or to show a student's proficiency," and in the Century Dictionary as "a public disputation or lecture required of a candidate for a degree of master;" but the latter definition is incorrect and both definitions are imperfect, since the word also means (as in the passage quoted in the text) the occasion or ceremony of keeping acts. On May 6, 1650, the Overseers ordered that such as "expect to proceed masters of Art" were "to exhibit their Synopses of Arts required by ye Lawes of ye Colledge" (College Book, i. 44), the reference being to the 19th of the College Laws of 1642–1646, which reads:

Every Scholar that giveth up in writing a Synopsis or summa of Logicke, Naturall & morall Philosophy, Arithmeticke, Geometry; & Astronomy, & is ready to defend his theses or positions, . . . at any publike act after triall hee shall bee capable of ye 2^d^ degree of Master of Arts (i. 44).

The order of May 6, 1650, was printed in Quincy's History of Harvard University (i. 518), but the words "their Synopses of *Arts*" were misread by the copyist employed by Quincy and in the History are misprinted "their synopsis of *acts*." The expression "synopsis of acts" obviously has no meaning at all; yet the above passage from Quincy's History was quoted by B. H. Hall in his Collection of College Words and Customs (1851, p. 3), and also duly appears in the Century Dictionary under "act."

It will be observed that in 1642 the students kept *two* "solemne Acts for their Commencement." Mr. Lane suggests that the ceremony consisted of two parts: first, orations, etc.; second, defence of theses.

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first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library. . . .

BOSTON in New-England,
September the 26.
1642. Your very loving
friends, *&c.*[1]

Here is positive proof that Commencement came *before* the 26th of September.

The other contemporary record is found in Governor Winthrop's History of New England, and is a very puzzling one indeed. His entries for the month of September, 1642, fill no fewer than fourteen printed pages.[2] In the first, merely dated "Mo. 7," he records the arrival from England of William Hibbins. In the next, dated September 6, he refers to various matters, among others the arrival from Virginia of Richard Bennet with letters "entreating a supply of faithful ministers" for the Old Dominion; and he states that the Rev. John Knowles and the Rev. William Tompson "were sent away, and departed on their way 8ber 7. to Taunton, to meet the bark at Narragansett." Thus in an entry dated September 6, an event that occurred on October 7 is alluded to. In the next entry, dated September 1, he mentions matters relating to the Indians, and a part of this entry could not have been written until a fortnight or more after the 1st. The entry next, dated September 8, also relates to the Indians, but must have been written at least in part some weeks later, since he states that "although we apprehended no danger, yet we continued our military watches, till near the end of 8ber, and restored the Indians all their arms we had taken from them." The next entry, dated September 19, requires no comment. Then comes a long entry dated September 22, which begins: "The court,

[1] New Englands First Fruits, pp. 16–17.

[2] History (1853), ii. 91–105. It is possible that the original manuscript of Winthrop's History, if in existence, would throw some further light on the date of these passages; but unfortunately, as Mr. Tuttle informs me, the second volume of the manuscript (which contained the passages in question) was loaned to James Savage on October 27, 1825, and was destroyed by fire on the 10th of November following.

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with advice of the elders, ordered a general fast." This gives the impression that the fast was ordered on the 22d. A session of the General Court was held on September 8, September 27, and October 13. On September 8 "The Court desired, if the churches thought meete, to have a day of humiliation kept the 22th p̄sent." [1] That is, Winthrop began his entry on the fast day itself. After giving "the occasions" for the fast, he goes on to say:

At this court, the propositions sent from Connecticut, about a combination, etc., were read, and referred to a committee to consider of after the court, who meeting, added some few cautions and new articles, . . . and so returned them back to Connecticut, to be considered upon against the spring, for winter was now approaching, and there could be no meeting before, etc.

These words could not have been written before September 27, on which day "The magistrates in & neare Boston, wth the deputies of Boston, Charlestowne, Cambridg, Watertowne, Roxberry, Dorchester, or the greater part of them, are appointed to bee a comittē to treate wth any comissionrs from Plimoth, Coñectecot, or Newe Haven, about the union," etc.[2] Then follows a long passage relating to the vicissitudes of John Humfrey, the Rev. John Phillips, and others, who had sailed for England on October 26, 1641.[3] Finally, we reach the following paragraph, which begins under the date of September 22 but suddenly jumps to October 5:

22.] . . . Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. (8.) 5. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz., all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of these. Most of them[4] were now present at this

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 28. Cf. Love, Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England, pp. 156, 178.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 31.

[3] Cf. Winthrop, History, ii. 55; Publications of this Society, xvii. 215.

[4] On November 20, 1637, the Court appointed the following committee "to take order for a colledge at Newetowne:" Richard Bellingham (Treasurer), Rev. John Cotton, Rev. John Davenport, Thomas Dudley (Deputy-Governor), Roger Harlakenden, John Humfrey, Rev. Hugh Peters, Rev. Thomas Shepard, Israel Stoughton, Rev. Thomas Weld, Rev. John Wilson, John Winthrop (Governor). These names — except that John Endicott (then Deputy-Governor) takes the

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first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, etc., and it gave good content to all.

By "a government or superintendency over the college," Winthrop means the Board of Overseers, and he distinctly gives the impression that the creation of the board preceded Commencement. Such, however, was not the case, as Commencement was held before September 26, while the order establishing the Overseers was passed September 27.[1]

Winthrop's account has often been quoted by those describing the first Commencement, but, strangely enough, apparently no one has hitherto used the passage as evidence in the matter of the date except Dr. Green, who accepts September 22 as Commencement Day. What is certain is that sentence after sentence which is entered under a specific date in September could not have been written on the date assigned. It is also certain that September 22 was a fast day. Is it likely that Commencement would have been held on a fast day? However that question may be answered, it seems to me that the only certain conclusion is that our first Commencement was celebrated not long before September 26.

1643

The Theses are dated "Cantabrigiæ *Nov. Ang. Mens.* 8. 1643."[2] As this is the only contemporary record, the precise day in October must remain undetermined.

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place of Roger Harlakenden (who died in 1638) — are printed on the 1642 Theses (New Englands First Fruits, 1643, p. 18). Mr. Gay conjectures that "at the first Commencement only six were probably present, viz. Winthrop, Endicott, Bellingham, Cotton, Wilson, Shepard. Of the other members, Weld, Peter, and Humphrey were then in England, Stoughton was apparently on the way thither, and Davenport had gone to New Haven in 1638" (Publications of this Society, xvii. 125). Mr. Gay has apparently overlooked Dudley. By "most of them," Winthrop appears to refer to the members of the board as it was constituted on September 27.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 30.

[2] Referring to the years 1672–1673, Dr. Green says: "During this period the customary way of giving the date of Commencement on the college programme was changed, and the Roman system adopted." As a matter of fact the Roman system was employed in 1647, though no system was adhered to consistently. Some dates are given in the text under 1643, 1646, 1653, 1675, 1676, 1682, 1684,

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1644

From the beginning down to and including 1869, the Master's degree was taken in course at the end of the third year after graduation.[1] As there were neither graduates nor candidates for the Master's degree in 1644, there could have been no Commencement in that year.

1645

No contemporary record has been found.

1646

July 28, the Theses being dated "*Cantabrigiæ Nov: Ang: Mens:* 5. *Die* 28. 1646." This is the first Commencement of which the exact date is known with certainty.[2]

1649

July 31. The only contemporary record is an oration delivered by the Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn, the heading and first few lines of which read as follows:

1723, 1768, 1772, 1774–1780. A few others follow, Q and T indicating the Quaestiones and the Theses:

1647 T Cantabrigiæ Nov: Ang: 6 Calend. Sextilis. 1647.
1655 Q Decimoquarto Die Sextilis 1655.
1670 T Cantabrigiæ Nov-Angliæ die nono Sextilis Anno M. DC. LXX.
1674 Q Tertio Idus Sextiles M.DC.LXXIV.
1678 T Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum Idibus Sextilibus: MDCLXXVIII.
1687 T Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum. Anno à Christo nato. MDC.LXXXVII.
1690 Q Sexto Nonas Quintilis. M,DC,XC.
1691 T Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum Calendis Julii. M. DC. XCI.
1692 Q Die Sexto Quintilis M DC XCII.
1696 Q Kalendas Quintilis. M DC XC VI.
1698 Q Die Sexto Quintilis. M DC XC VIII.
1708 T Habita in Comitijs Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, Die Septimo Quintilis. MDCCVIII.
1713 Q Calendis Quintilibus. M DCC XIII.
1717 T Habita in Comitiis Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, Quinto Nonarum Quintilis. MDCCXVII.
1740 T Habita in Comitiis Academicis Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, Sexto Calendas Septembris, Anno MDCCXL.

Other dates will be found in Mr. Lane's article on Early Harvard Broadsides.

[1] Cf. p. 207 note, above.

[2] In an almanac (the only known copy of which lacks the title-page) for 1646 compiled by Samuel Danforth, Commencement Day is given as July 28. Danforth may have given July 28 because in 1645 Commencement had been July 29; or the last Tuesday in July may have been fixed upon at some Corporation or Overseers' meeting between the summer of 1645 and the end of that year, when the almanac was presumably printed.

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ORATIO

Quam Comitijs Cantabrigiensibus Americanis
Peroravit reverendissimus D.
D. Samuel Whiting
Pastor Linnensis; in aula scilicet Harvardina,
Pridie Calendas Sextiles, Anno, M.DC.XL.IX.

OPTIMATES colendissimi, Presbyteri maxime venerandi; Vosque Præses, Socij, Candidati, Discipuli doctrissimi; reliquaque celeberrima Corona: pauca (pro more solito) exaudire, exosculari, rogo ut dignemini.[1]

1650

July 30. In the Steward's Account Book of Thomas Chesholme is the entry against the name of William Mildmay (who took his A.M. in 1650), "Commencement day 30 of July;" and against the name of Nathaniel Mather (who also took his A.M. in 1650) the date "30–5–50" and the words "being the day of Commencement." [2]

[1] P. 1. The copy owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society fills sixteen pages, but has no title. It was not printed until 1709, for on September 17 of that year Sewall wrote: "Mr. Green finishes printing Mr. Whiting's Oration" (Diary, ii. 263). Presumably the date was taken from the original manuscript.

[2] Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 548. Dr. Green quotes the extracts in the text and also the date "30–5–50" and the words "Commencment Chardge" against the name of William Stoughton, who graduated in 1650 (Sibley, i. 549). But, as already stated (p. 315 note 4, above), the entries in Chesholme's book must be used with great caution, and no date found in it can be accepted as Commencement Day unless the day is specifically stated to be Commencement Day. Thus against the name of Urian Oakes is the date "10–7–52" and the words "his Commencement Chardges" (i. 548); against the name of John Collins is the date "10–7–52" and the words "his Commencment Chardges" (i. 549); against the name of John Glover is the date "12–7–51" and the words "by his Commencmente Chardges" (Chesholme's Account Book, p. 142); against the name of Leonard Hoar is the date "10–7–53" and the words "by Commencment Charges" (Sibley, i. 550). There is no reason for supposing that Commencement came on September 10 in 1652, and we know with certainty that it did not come on September 12 in 1651 or on September 10 in 1653. The Commencement charge was often paid not on Commencement Day, but on quarter day; and presumably the above dates were quarter days. This point is clearly brought out by the original entry under Mildmay's name, which in Chesholme's Account Book (fol. 3) reads: "13–7–50 by m^{r} Willyam Mildmay his Commencment Chardges 003–02–06;" but above the date is written "quarter day," while below the date is written "Commencment day 30 of July befor this quarter day." Many other instances where Commencement charges are entered against a quarter day occur in Chesholme's book. The practice of granting degrees before College dues were paid,

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1651

August 12. Presumably Commencement Day had for five years (1646–1650) been the last Tuesday in July. It was now changed — though exactly when or for what reason cannot, owing to lack of evidence, be determined — to the second Tuesday in August, which, so far as is known, continued to be the day for the next thirty years. In a pamphlet published in London in 1652, John Clark says that he "came into the *Mathatusets* Bay upon the 16 day of the 5th Moneth, 51" — that is, July 16; that he reached Lynn the 19th, where he was soon arrested and imprisoned; and that on the 22d he was sent to Boston, where he was imprisoned until August 11. After quoting an order for his release from prison signed by William Hibbins and dated "*the* 11*th. of the* 6*th. Month,* 1651," and a letter which he himself wrote to the magistrates dated "11th. 6. 51," Clark goes on to say: "Both these the next morning I delivered to the keeper to deliver to the Magistrates, who were to meet at the Commencement at *Cambridge.*"[1] In a work published in London in 1654, Edward Johnson said: "The number of Students is much encreased of late, so that the present year 1651. on the twelfth of the sixth moneth, ten of them took the degree of Batchelors of Art."[2]

1653

August 9 and August 10, the Theses being respectively dated "*Cantabrigiæ Nov-Angliæ* Quint: Id: *Sextilis Anno Dom:* M.D.C.-LIII." and "*Cantabrigiæ Nov-Angl: Decimo Sextilis Anno Dom:* CIↃ IↃC LIII." The Quaestiones are dated "*NONO DIE SEXTILIS* M.DC.LIII." This double Commencement, as Mr. Lane remarks, "has always been something of a mystery, and facts are

though surprising, apparently continued for over half a century. On June 11, 1694, the Corporation ordered "That Such as Stand for their Degrees Shall ten days at least before the Cōmencm^{t} clear their Accounts with ye Colledge Steward" (College Book, iv. 9). As late as 1721 the Steward found it "exceeding Difficult to get in the Tuition money as well as other College dues" (iv. 70); and on June 2, 1725, the Corporation felt it necessary to vote "That the Tut^{rs} be desired to Notify those who Stand for their degrees that they pay all College Dues to the Stew^{d} in order to their regularly receiving their degrees and that the Stew^{d} Exhibit to the Tut^{rs} a List of the Commencers Names the day before Commencement to signify how far this Order is complyed wth" (iv. 102)

[1] Ill Newes from New-England, pp. 10, 11.

[2] Wonder-Working Providence, p. 166.

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still lacking for its complete explanation." [1] Apparently, however, it was due to the fact that about this time the course of study was changed from three years to four years. Those who graduated on August 9 were admitted to their second degree in 1655; while those graduating on August 10 were admitted to their second degree in 1656.

1654

August 8. Dr. Green writes: "See the entry after the name of Michael Wigglesworth in Sibley (I. 551), which gives the Commencement charges on '8–6–54,' August 8, the second Tuesday." For reasons already given,[2] this entry cannot be accepted as proof. There is, however, another entry which furnishes the required information, for under the name of John Davis we read: "att 8–6–54 by his Commencment Chardges," [3] — the "att" making it reasonably certain that the date was that of Commencement.

1667

August 13. Under that date William Adams wrote: "I came down to Cambridge to ye cōmencement, sought for admission into colledge, could not obtain it, pecuniæ deerant." [4]

1671

August 8. Under that date William Adams wrote: "I was admitted to ye degree of Batchelour of Arts in Harvard Colledge in N. E. under ye Reverend Charles Chancey President." [5]

1672

August 13. Under that date William Adams wrote: "Mr. Vrian Oakes functus officio Præsidis admisit inceptores ad gradus in artibus." [6] The oration delivered by Oakes is headed: "Oratio 1. Can-

[1] Early Harvard Broadsides, pp. 275–279, where the problem is discussed at length.

[2] See p. 323 note 2, above.

[3] Chesholme's Account Book, p. 54; Sibley, i. 552.

[4] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 8. It is pleasant to find that on September 20 Adams "came to Cambridge again with my uncle N. A.," and that on the next day he was "admitted into Colledge" — his uncle Nathaniel no doubt furnishing the "pecunia."

[5] Ibid. i. 13.

[6] Ibid. i. 17.

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tabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum in Comitiis Academicis Habita, Idib. Sextilib. Anno 1672. (à Rev̄^{do} admodum, atq; Doctissimo Uriano Oakes C. Harv^{dini} Præside.)"[1]

1675

August 10, the Quaestiones being dated "QUARTO IDUUM SEXTILIUM 1675." Under the same date Increase Mather wrote: "At Com^{m}encemt at Cambridge."[2] Under the same date William Adams wrote: "Admissus fui ad secundum gradum in Artibus in Coll. Harvard. in Cantabr. in Nov.-Angliâ sub reverendo Vrian Oakes Præside pro tempore."[3] Finally, the oration delivered by President Oakes is headed: "Oratio 2̄^{a} Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum in Comitiis Academicis Habita, a.d. 4 Id. Sextil. 1675."[4]

1676

August 8, the Quaestiones being dated "SEXTO IDUS SEXTILES MDCLXXVI." Under the same date Increase Mather wrote: "At Com̄enct in Cambridge."[5] Mr. Dean having asked for corrections, a correspondent[6] pointed out that in Sewall's Diary the

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[1] In the second of two volumes of manuscripts (preserved in the College archives) labelled "President Leverett's Discourses." This title is a misnomer, since, though all the discourses are unmistakably in the hand of Leverett, he was certainly not the author of some of them. The second volume contains "Oratio Comitiis Cantabr. Nov-Anglor̄ habita Anno Domini, 1652. ꝑ orataq; à Rev^{do} Nath. Rogers. Ecclesiæ Ipsvicensis Pastore Eximio, in Aulâ Scil. Harvardinâ" (pp. 93–98); an oration delivered in 1686 (pp. 99–104); "Oratio Salutatoria Comitiis Academicis habita Anno Dom̄. 1703" (pp. 104–114: was this by Spencer Phips?); an oration in 1708 (pp. 114–123) and another in 1709 (pp. 124–125), presumably by Leverett himself; and orations delivered by Oakes in 1672 (pp. 1–9), 1675 (pp. 10–29), 1677 (pp. 29–52), and 1678 (pp. 52–77); and various other discourses. Presumably the dates were copied from the original manuscripts.

[2] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 350.

[3] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 21. The dates in Adams's Diary are somewhat hard to follow, and Sibley (Harvard Graduates, ii. 384) wrongly assigns the extract quoted in the text to "Aug. 10. 1674." The year "1674" is Sibley's interpolation. The extract itself shows that it must have been written in 1675. First, Commencement in 1674 was on August 11, not 10. Second, President Hoar of course presided in 1674; but on March 15, 1675, "Dr Leonard Hoar made a resignac̄on of his Presid^{t}ship of the College" (College Book, iii. 67: see also p. 369, below). The entry corrects an error in the Quinquennial, where it is stated that Adams took his A.M. in 1674.

[4] President Leverett's Discourses, ii: see note 1, above.

[5] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 369.

[6] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiv. 103.

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date for Commencement was given as July 28. This is the case in the Diary as printed, but in the manuscript copy the day is placed between July 28 and August 12.[1]

1677

August 14, the oration delivered by President Oakes being headed, "Oratio Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum in Comitijs Academicis habita postrid: Idus Sextilium. 1677."[2]

1682

August 8, the Quaestiones being dated "Die Sexto ante Idus Sextiles MDCLXXXII." The Triennial printed in 1682 also has the same date.[3] A curious manuscript entry is found in a copy (now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society) of William Brattle's Ephemeris for 1682 which once belonged to Judge Sewall, who has written on the title, "ex dono Authoris Jany 30. 1681" — that is, 1681–2. Against the date August 8 is printed "Com-encment." But against September 13 (which was Wednesday) Sewall has written in ink "Cõmencment" and in the margin "it" — that is, "item." Dr. Green mentions these facts and remarks: "It is not easy to explain this discrepancy." The explanation is as follows. In his Diary, under date of "20th 5th" (July 20), Noadiah Russell writes: "There was an act passed amount the overseers yt ye commencement should be deferred ye space of a month tho' afterwards reversed."[4] Brattle and Russell were both resident graduates at that time. Russell's entry must have been made soon after July 20, and is a

[1] The manuscript of this portion of the Diary itself is not in existence. It is greatly to be regretted that Sewall's Diary, upon which so much reliance is placed for exact dates, should have been so carelessly printed. Marginal entries (which often are essential to the text) have not been printed at all, words have been misread, and various errors of commission and omission occur. Cf. Publications of this Society, xvii. 53 note, 63 note 2. In 1701 the printed Diary (ii. 38) wrongly gives Commencement as July 1 instead of July 2: see p. 330, below. And in 1704 the printed Diary twice (ii. 111, 112) gives Commencement as July 15 instead of July 5, the original Diary showing that Sewall wrote "July, 5" in each case, the comma having been turned into the figure 1.

[2] President Leverett's Discourses, ii: see p. 326 note 1, above.

[3] See p. 313, above.

[4] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 56. It is to be regretted that the person who deciphered Russell's Diary was unable to read his writing, as the printed Diary contains several palpable errors. Nor was Russell, as alleged by the editor, a Tutor, but, as stated in the text, a resident graduate.

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good illustration of the untrustworthiness of almanacs, since it shows that in 1682 the date was twice changed after Brattle's almanac had been printed. Russell's statement is confirmed by an entry that was once in College Book II. 73. That book was unfortunately destroyed when the second Harvard College was burned in 1764; but in the Index (now in the College archives) to College Books I–VI which President Wadsworth made for his own convenience is this entry: "Cõmencement. order'd to be on y^e^ *second Weneſday in Sept*, & to continue so. 20.5.1682. B.2.p.73." Finally, in a manuscript Diary owned by the American Antiquarian Society, under date of July 20, Increase Mather has written: "With Overseers of Colledge, who voted yt Cõmencement shd be deferred vntill 2^d^ wednesday in Sept." On July 27 he writes: "dined wth Magistrates & Overseers who vnanimously voted yt I shd be desired to manage ye next Cõmencement." No doubt it was at this meeting that the day was changed from September 13 back to August 8, for under date of August 8 Mather says: "At Cõmencement w^h^ D [i.e. Deus] helpes me to manage ye work of yt day." [1]

1683

The above entry in President Wadsworth's Index clearly indicates that on July 20, 1682, the Overseers fixed upon the second Wednesday in September as Commencement Day. In Cotton

[1] There is still another contemporary record for this year. In a letter to Increase Mather dated Stamford, September 16, 1682, the Rev. John Bishop said: "I lately received . . . a Catalogue of Harvard's sons" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 311). This can refer only to the 1682 Triennial. Had Commencement come on September 13th, Bishop would have received his catalogue not "lately," but only a day or two before he wrote his letter — if, indeed, he could have received it at all before September 16th.

How many days before Commencement were the programmes printed? In 1671 Commencement was August 8, and on August 2 William Adams noted in his Diary: "Was printed our theses for ye commencemt" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 13). Of the extant Theses and Quaestiones for the years 1727–1735 only two are fully dated: the Quaestiones for 1728 and 1729. On June 17, 1728, Commencement was appointed to be "on Friday, ye 28th of this Jnstant June" (College Book, iv. 131); and on June 17, 1729, Commencement was appointed to be "upon Friday, ye twenty-seventh of this Jnstant June" (iv. 139) Hence in those two years the Quaestiones could not have been printed more than eleven or ten days in advance. That the programmes would have been printed two or three weeks before Commencement is unlikely in the extreme.

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Mather's Boston Ephemeris for 1683[1] the word "Commencment" is printed against Wednesday, September 12. The only contemporary record for this year known to me is a manuscript Diary (owned by the American Antiquarian Society) in which, under date of September 12, Increase Mather has written: "At Cōmencmt in Cambridge."

1684

July 1, Tuesday. At a meeting held December 5, 1683, "It was voted & agreed unanimously by ye Corporation, y^t^ the President be desired to speak to ye Govern^r^, to entreat y^t^ the Overseers would please to order ye comencement for ye future to be on ye first Wednesday in July."[2] In 1684 the first Wednesday in July fell on the 2d. On December 9, 1683, four days after the above vote was passed, President Rogers and the two Fellows, Samuel Andrew and John Cotton, addressed the following letter to Increase Mather:

Reverend Sir, — We are heartily sorry that we are enforced to give you the trouble of these lines; the purport whereof is to signify our great dissatisfaction with the stated time of the Cōmencem^t^, on the first Wensday in July next; the occasion whereof is, that upon that very day wil fall out a grand Eclipse of the Sun, which was not foreseen, or at least, thought of, upon the last meeting of the Corporation. What reflection wilbee vpon our oversight of it, or upon our persisting, notwithstanding we have still the opportunity of correcting it, before the Almanack come forth; as also how obstructive the Eclipse wilbee as to the busines of the day, is very obvious. Wee are not superstitious about it, but reckon it very inconvenient. If, therefore, yourself shal joyne with us, and improve your interest once more with the Hono^r^ed Overseers, to alter and confirme the day on the 2^d^ Wensday in July, or for this p^r^sent turne on the first Tuesday in July, or the forementioned 2^d^ Wednsday, it shal be most grateful and obliging to us.

Sir, praying a blessing upon al your labo^r^s, and begging your prayers for us, we kisse your hands, & are

Your friends & servants,
J. Rogers.
Samuel Andrew.
Jno. Cotton.[3]

Cambridge, 9, 10, 83.

[1] There is no name on the title-page, but on the title-page of a copy of the almanac owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society Judge Sewall has written, "By Mr. Cotton Mather."

[2] College Book, i. 89. [3] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 521–522.

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This appeal apparently fell on deaf ears, for at a meeting held at Boston on January 3, 1684, "The Overseers being acquainted with the Vote of the Corporation for the change of the Cōmencemt day from the time wherin 't was last held to the first Wednesday in July, Do consent yt it be upon sd day for the future." [1] Nevertheless, the matter must have been reconsidered very shortly, as July 1 is given as Commencement both in Noadiah Russell's Cambridge Ephemeris for 1684 [2] and in Benjamin Gillam's Boston Ephemeris for 1684, and a meeting of the Overseers was held "on the Cōmencemt day Cambridge July 1. 84," [3] while the Quaestiones are dated "Calend: Quintilis MDCLXXXIII."

1685–1714

During these years Commencement came on the first Wednesday in July, except in 1689, when, for some reason not known, it came on September 11.[4] In Sewall's printed Diary, Commencement Day in 1701 is wrongly given as Tuesday, July 1. What Sewall actually wrote is as follows, the reference being to Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, donor of the first Stoughton College:

Commencemt

Monday, June, 30. Lt Govr sd would go to ye cōmencemt once more in his life-time, so would adjourn ye Court to Friday, and did so. But was very much pain'd going home. Mr Nelson,[5] Secretary [6] & I visit him on Tuesday, to disswade him from going, lest some ill consequence should hapen. He consented & ordered us to present his Bowl. After dinner & singing, I took it, had it filled up, and drunk to ye president [7] saying that by reason of ye absence of him who was ye Firmanent & Ornament of the Province, & yt Society, I presented

Lieut Governour's Bowl.

[1] College Book, iii. 85. The only entry relating to the matter in Increase Mather's manuscript Diary (owned by the American Antiquarian Society) is under date of January 3, 1684: "O[v]erseers of ye Colledge mett, & voted yt Cōment sd for ye future be on ye 1 Wednesday in July."

[2] On January 12, 1684, Russell says in his Diary, "I went to Cambridge to carry my Almanack to ye Press;" and on January 26, "My Almanack was printed" (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 59).

[3] College Book, i. 93, iii. 85.

[4] See p. 316 note 2, above.

[5] John Nelson.

[6] Isaac Addington, Secretary of the Province.

[7] Increase Mather.

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that Grace-cup pro more Academiarum in Anglia The Providence of our soveraign Lord is very investigable 2.[1] in that our Grace Cups brim full, are passing round; when our Brethren in France are petitioning for y^r^ Coup de Grace. President made no Oration.

1715

August 31. At an Overseers' meeting held July 7, 1714, —

Mr President[2] propounding that on Consideration of the Excessive heat of the Weather and other inconveniencys attending the holding of Comencm^t^ on the first Wednesday in Iuly, the time might be altered.

It was Voted, That henceforth the Comencm^t^ be held upon the last Wednesday of August yearly.[3]

1716

July 4. . At a meeting of the Corporation held on October 25, 1715, the following action was taken:

Comencement. 1st Wednesday July.

Whereas upon the Experim^t^ of ye year past, it is found, That the Conveniences for removing the Comencm^t^ prove not what was expected, Jt is agreed, the Comencm^t^ be Assign'd and fixed at the time it has for about thirty years bin Celebrated, Viz^t^ On the first Wednesday in Iuly; And that the Presid^t^ present the desires of the Corporation to the Overseers for their Approbation.[4]

1721

On June 23, 1721, the Overseers —

Small pox.

3 Voted That by reason of the present Spreading of the Small Pox there be a private Commencemt this year

Private Commencement

4 Voted That Notice be given in the publick News papers that the Commencmt wil not be this year on the ususal day

5 Voted That the Time and Manner of Managing the private Commencmt be referred to the Consideration

[1] This entry, though it begins June 30, obviously could not have been written before July 2. In the printed Diary (ii. 37–38) the figure "2." which of course means July 2, appears as a semicolon, thus making it appear that Commencement was July 1.

[2] John Leverett.

[3] College Book, iv. 53. Cf. Sewall, Diary, iii. 9. See p. 316 note 2, above.

[4] College Book, iv. 58.

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of the Corporation and by them Lay'd before the Overseers [1]

According to the fourth vote, the following advertisement appeared in the Boston News Letter of June 26:

NOtice is hereby given to all Person concerned, That by Reason of any Danger that may arise from the Small Pox's spreading; The COMMENCEMENT at Cambridge this Year will be managed privately, and not on the usual Day, viz. the first Wednesday of July (p. 2/2).

That Commencement was held on June 28 is proved by this entry in President Leverett's Diary: "At a meeting of the Presid[t] & Fellows of Harvard College at the Presid[ts] House in Cambridge. June 28[o] 1721. Being the day of giving the Cōmencers for this year their Degrees." [2]

1723

It has already been stated that four Theses and one Quaestiones are wrongly dated.[3] On July 3, 1723, Samuel Dexter said in his Diary: "This Day was y[e] COMMENCEMENT. I had my second Degree given me;" [4] while on the same day Jeremiah Bumstead recorded that he "Went to Commencement." [5] That these entries were actually written on July 3, there is no reason to question. July 3 was the first Wednesday in July, and a meeting of the Overseers held on that day is headed: "At a Meeting of the Overseers of the College July 3[d] being Commencemt day 1723." [6] Yet the Theses and the Quaestiones are dated "Tertio Nonas Quintilis. MDCCXXIII" — that is, July 5. A mistake was evidently made by those who prepared the programmes.[7]

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[1] Overseers' Records, i. 19. A similar entry is in Leverett's Diary, p. 198.

[2] P. 199. No meeting is recorded in the Overseers' Records on June 28. The Corporation met that day, but the fact that it was Commencement is not stated: see p. 314 note 4, above.

[3] See pp. 312, 312 note 4, 313, 313 note 4, above.

[4] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 28.

[5] xv. 199.

[6] Overseers' Records, i. 52.

[7] The date should have been "Quinto Nonas Quintilis." According to the Roman calendar, the Calends were the first day in any month; the Ides were the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of the other months; the Nones were the ninth day before the Ides (counting both days), i.e. the 7th of

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1727–1735

Looking back on the period thus far covered, it is seen that — omitting the years (1642–1645, 1648, 1652, 1657, 1661, 1662, 1673) in regard to which there is uncertainty, and a few years (1683, 1684, 1689, 1715, 1721) when for special reasons the day was altered — Commencement regularly fell on the last Tuesday in July in 1646–1650, on the second Tuesday in August in 1651–1682, and on the first Wednesday in July in 1685–1726. In 1727 a radical departure was made and what were called "private Commencements" were held from 1727 to 1735, both included, the day being kept a secret. The reasons for this change carry us back to the early days of the College, indeed of the colony.

In 1642 most of the magistrates and elders were present, Winthrop tells us, and "dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons;" [1] while from another account we learn that "the Governor, Magistrates, and Ministers, from all parts, with all sorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers, were present." [2] Thus at once Commencement became the great gala day of the colony, and no subject caused the authorities greater tribulation than its proper regulation. This was owing to the "excesses" and "disorders" that soon arose. The early settlers were true Englishmen, and the notion of

March, May, July, and October, and the 5th of the other months; and the Romans reckoned the days forward to the Calends, Nones, or Ides next following. The fact that Commencement happened to come on July 3 may have caused the authorities inadvertently to write "Tertio" instead of "Quinto." On the other hand, Professor Albert A. Howard of Harvard University, to whom I am indebted for help, tells me that the authorities may have used printed tables for converting Christian dates into Roman dates. If so, since the programmes were no doubt prepared and printed in June, it would have been easy for the authorities to look at the June column instead of the July column, for the 3d of June would have been "Tertio Nonas Junias."

In 1663 Commencement was August 11, the Quaestiones being dated "*UNDECIMO DIE SEXTILIS* M.DC.LXIII." There has been preserved in manuscript a set of burlesque Theses, dated "Quinto Idûs Augusti An° Magni Iubilæi MDCLXIII." — that is, Sunday, August 9. "This discrepancy as to the date," writes Mr. Edes, "can be accounted for by assuming that the author or authors forgot that the Ides of August fell on the thirteenth of the month instead of the fifteenth as in July when, probably, no inconsiderable portion of this paper was written." (See Publications of this Society, v. 322–339.) It thus appears, to borrow Jowett's phrase, that in 1663, as now, "not even the youngest" were infallible.

[1] See p. 321, above.

[2] See p. 318, above.

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drinking mere water was strange to them. Thus in a letter written in March, 1631, to the Countess of Lincoln, Governor Thomas Dudley said that here may be found "a pure Air to Breath in, and good Water to drink, till Wine or Beer can be made."[1] And two years earlier the Rev. Francis Higginson wrote that "whereas my Stomacke could onely digest and did require such drinke as was both strong and stale, now I can and doe often times drink *New-England* water verie well."[2] Beer and cider were regularly served at commons, but greater latitude was allowed on Commencement Day. In 1681 the Overseers ordered "that the President of the Colledge do from time to time comend it to the Parents & Guardians of those students that commence, that they provide not above one gallon of wine for a Student, judging it to be sufficient for that occasion;"[3] and on July 28 in the same year ordered "That no Graduate henceforth shall provide more then 3 gallons of wine nor oth^r^ Students more then one for comencm^t^," a marginal note stating that this was "For the Preventing of the growing Excess in Wine at Comencm^ts^."[4] At that time, too, Samuel Andrew, then a Fellow of the Corporation, was appointed Proctor for Commencement week, his special duty being —

to take care that the Students Chambers and Studyes be cleared of all manner of p^r^sons during the time of publick exercise on comencem^t^ day. & at or before 9 a clock at night to cause all strangers to depart from the Colledge, & to signifye to them that ye usual recourse of any to the Colledge the following days of the week, excepting Schollars is displeasing to the hon^d^ & Revd Overseers, & that they are required accordingly to forbeare. And in case Students or other p^r^sons not belonging to the Colledge shall refuse to submitt themselvs to this order, Jts required of m^r^ Andrews y^t^ he returne their names to the Overseers who will proceed ag^t^ them according to ye demeritt of their offence. Also the Procto^r^ is required to take speciall care y^t^ the provisions to be sent in to the College Hall be accordingly p^r^formed. And all the abuses y^t^ have been of y^t^ kind formerly to be effectually p^r^vented for the future.[5]

In William Brattle's Ephemeris for 1682, at the bottom of the page for August, are printed these lines:

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[1] Massachusetts or The first Planters of New-England (Boston, 1696), p. 20.

[2] New-Englands Plantation (Essex Book and Print Club, 1908), p. 30.

[3] College Book, iii. 27. [4] iii. 73. [5] iii. 73.

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COmmencement's come, but (friendly) I advize
All sorts of Rabble now their Homes to prize,
For if to it they come, so Blind they'll bee,
That Really no Body will see.
Now *Sol* to *Virgo* goes, & there does stay,
Till that his Heat does very much Decay.[1]

On June 22, 1693, the Corporation "having been informed that ye Custom taken up in the Colledge, not used in any other Universities, for the Cōmencers to have Plumb-Cake, is dishonourable to ye Colledge, not gratefull to Wise men, and chargable to ye Parents of ye Cōmencers; do therefore put an End to that Custom."[2] On July 3, 1707, Sewall recorded that the Rev. Solomon Stoddard "preached excellently from Mica, 1. 5. . . . Spake against excess in Cōmencem't entertainments."[3] On April 4, 1721, the Corporation —

For the preventing Extravagancies at Cōmencm^t^s. Voted,

1. That the Order of the Corporation pass'd Iune 22^d^ 1693, p̄hibiting any Scholar to have Plum-cake &c in his Study or Chamber a Cōmencm^t^ be strictly observed.

2. That all mix'd drink made with distill'd Sp^ts^ be also p̄hibited on the Same Penalty.

3. That the Presid^t^ and Fellows be desired to exhort & direct the Scholars to be more moderate and frugall in their Entertainm^ts^.

4. And that the publick dinner usual on the day after Cōmencm^t^ be

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[1] Dr. Green quotes these lines and asks: "Do they have reference to the drinking habits of that period?" The answer must obviously be in the affirmative. Our associate Mr. Merritt calls my attention to an interesting passage in a letter from the Rev. Nathan Prince to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The controversy of Prince, for many years Tutor and Fellow, with the Corporation was a *cause célèbre* in the history of the College. Writing on August 29, 1745, he said: "*It has been represented that 'I was expelled the Independent College in this Country for Immorality.'* There is something, Sir, more gross than Intemperance itself suggested to the mind, when 'tis said that a Person is condemned for Immoralities: Whereas I never was charged before the Government of that College with any thing immoral, but only with one or two Acts of Intemperance during fifteen years' run of their lascivious Commencements and other publick Entertainments" (W. S. Perry, Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, iii. 393).

[2] College Book, iv. 7. On July 8, 1707, Sewall recorded that he "gave Mr. Stoddard for Madam Stoddard two half pounds of Chockalat, instead of Cōmencment Cake; and a Thesis" (Diary, ii. 192).

[3] Diary, ii. 189–190.

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lessen'd or laid aside, as the Presid[t] and Fellows of the House [1] shall think most convenient.[2]

On June 11, 1722, the Corporation took more stringent action still:

6. Whereas the Countrey in general and the College in Particular have bin under Such Circumstances, as call aloud for Humiliation, and all due manifestations of it; and that a Suitable retrenchm[t] of every thing that has the face of Exorbitance or Extrag[e] in Expences, especialy at Comencm[ts] ought to be endeav[rd] And Whereas the preparations & pvisions that have bin wont to be made at those times have bin the Occasion of no Small disorders; It is Agreed, and Voted, That henceforth no preparation nor Provision either of Plumb-Cake or rosted, boiled or baked Meats or Pyes of any kind shalbe made by any Comencer, nor shal any such have any distilled Liquours, or any Composition made therew[th] . . .

7. Voted, That the Usual publick Dinner in the Hall the day after the Comencm[t] be hence-forth laid aside.[3]

These regulations proving ineffectual, on September 6, 1726, —

The Corporation having now had some Discourse about the great Disorders & Jmmoralities yt have attended y[e] Publick Commencements; it is agreed yt y[e] Several Members of y[e] Corporation will Jndeavour to think of wt may be a proper method for y[e] preventing of such Disorders & Jmmoralities, and offer their thoughts at another Meeting.[4]

Accordingly, on April 5, 1727, —

The Corporation pursuant to their vote on the Sixth of September last, refering to y[e] preventing y[e] Jmmoralities & disorders at y[e] Commencements, upon serious consideration had thereon, do agree & vote,

1.) That y[e] Commencements for y[e] time to come, be more private than has been usual. And in order to this,

2.) That y[e] time for y[e] Commencement be not fixed to y[e] first Wenesday of July, as formerly, but yt the particular day be determined from time to time by y[e] Corporation; and yt y[e] Hon[ble] & Rev[nd] y[e] overseers of y[e] College, be seasonably notified of the said day, and be desired to honour y[e] Solemnity wth their presence.

3) That y[e] Exercises of Commencement be y[e] same, and performed in publick manner, and a dinner provided in y[e] Hall, as usual.

[1] By "Fellows of the House" are meant the Tutors.

[2] College Book, iv. 69–70. [3] iv. 78. [4] iv. 118.

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4) That all Candidates for their second Degree, shall attend at ye College by the fifteenth day of June, & yt such who neglect to give their attendance by yt time without sufficient reason, may not expect their Degree yt year.[1]

That these Proposals be presented to ye Honble & Rev^nd^ ye overseers for their approbation.[2]

On May 12 the Corporation authorized the Treasurer to insert an advertisement "into ye publick News Papers" announcing that "the Commencement shal be managed this year in a more private manner than has been usual," etc.[3] Finally, on June 12 the Corporation took the following action:

The Board of Overseers at their late Meeting of Jun. 8. having recommended it to ye Corporation, yt ye Act made. Jun. 11. 1722. respecting ye retrenching ye Extravagances of Commencement, be duely executed, and yt a further Act be prepared by ye Corporation, and laid before ye overseers at their next meeting, for ye more effectual Suppressing ye disorders yt have attended ye Commencements;

Voted, yt ye said Act of Jun. 11. 1722. confirmed by the overseers Jun: 13. ye said year, be duely executed; [4] and yt it may more effectually answer ye good ends proposed, it is further ordered, yt if any who now do, or hereafter shall, stand for their Degrees, presume to do anything contrary to ye said Act, or go about to evade it by Plain Cake, they shall not be admitted to their Degree. And in case yt any after they have received their Degree, shall presume to make any of ye forbidden Provisions, their names shall be left or ras'd out of ye Catalogue of Graduates.

Voted, yt ye Corporation wth ye Tutors do visit the Chambers of ye Commencers, to see to ye effectual Execution of ye said Act; and yt these Votes be laid before ye overseers at their next meeting.[5]

It only remained to set the day for the Commencement in 1727, and this was done on June 27th, when the Corporation "voted, yt the Commencement (God willing) shall be on ye next Friday, viz. the 30th day of this present month." [6]

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[1] Here a marginal entry reads: "N.B. The overseers at y^r^ meeting. Apr. 11. 1727. added ys clause, viz: And y^t^ these Rules be observed till further order."

[2] College Book, iv. 121–122. [3] iv. 122–123.

[4] Here a marginal entry reads: "Reforming ye Commencements Ys Act was consented to by ye Overseers, published in the Hall. Jun. 19. 1727. and ordered to be set up in ye Hall." [5] College Book, iv. 123.

[6] iv. 124. An advertisement about Commencement was printed in the Boston News Letter of May 18, 1727.

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It is astonishing, as already pointed out, that no account of Commencement appeared in any Boston newspaper until 1728;[1] though it is to be remembered that the early issues of those papers were chiefly devoted to foreign news. The following account was printed in the New England Weekly Journal of July 1, 1728:

June 29. The Annual Commencement at *Cambridge* being chang'd by Order of the Reverend Corporation, with the Advice and Consent of the Honourable and Reverend Overseers of the College, from being held on the first Wednesday in *July* every Year as formerly, or on any other stated Anniversary, and it being left to the said Reverend Corporation to appoint the Day a little beforehand, that by the uncertainty thereof, there may be a smaller Concourse, and less Disorder on that great Occasion. — The Author[2] of this Journal will take a special Care for the Time to come, to inform his Readers Yearly in his Paper next after the said Solemnity, of the Day of *Commencement*, and the Numbers and Names of the *Bachelors* and *Masters* who then receive their Degrees, according to the printed *Theses*[3] and *Questions* then Exhibited: and He

[1] This does not mean that Commencement was never mentioned before 1728. It has already been pointed out (p. 314 note 2, above) that the Commencement of 1704 was casually referred to in a Boston paper, and advertisements about Commencement were occasionally inserted by the College authorities. Also, there was printed in the New England Weekly Journal of July 3, 1727, a poem of 155 lines called "*The Sequel of Commencement*," introduced as follows:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus ——— ——— Hor.

WHILE I was preparing an Entertainment for the Publick, I was diverted from my Subject, with the Seasonable Conclusion of a Poem, enclosed in the following Letter to our Society.

Gentlemen,

'*You may please to remember, that the Poem on Commencement that was published 'the last Year, concluded at the College with a Complement to the Members of that 'learned Society. I have presumed to march off the prodigious Swarm that were then 'left at* Cambridge, *and conduct them thro' their various Pastimes & Divertisements, 'down to their several Districts and Habitations; promising my self your Protection, 'and candid Examination of the Performance.*

I am
Gentlemen
Your Obliged Servant.

[2] The word "author" formerly meant editor or publisher.

[3] No copies of the Theses for 1728 or 1729 have been preserved; but that they were duly printed is proved by the passage in the text and by this extract from the same paper of June 30, 1729 (p. 2/2):

On Fryday last the 27th Currant, was the Annual *Commencement* at *Cambridge* for this Year, (it being the Third in order of the more Private Commencements.)

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also purposes to give the like Intelligence Yearly of the *Commencement* at *New-Haven*.

On the last Year was the first in Order of these more private *Commencement* at *Cambridge*: and it was then held on Fryday *June* 30, when Thirty Seven took their Degree of *Bachelor* in Arts, and Thirty Six others their Degree of *Master*.

And Yesterday, which was Fryday *June* 28, was the *Commencement* for this Year, when the said Degrees were severally given to the following Persons, after they had held their Publick Disputations in the Church of the Town.[1]

These private Commencements satisfied neither the graduates nor the College authorities. There was just enough uncertainty

when the following Persons, had their Degrees given them, after they had held their Publick Disputations in the Church of that Town, as they are in the Printed *Theses* and *Questions*, viz. . . .

[1] P. 2/1. Then follow the names of those who received degrees. It is pertinent to point out that the names of those receiving degrees printed in the newspapers furnish important evidence which has not as yet been used by the Editor of the Quinquennial. Thus the 1915 Quinquennial records that thirty-eight members of the class of 1725 and twenty-eight members of the class of 1726 received their second degree (A.M.) in course — that is, in 1728 and 1729 respectively. But the newspapers cited in the text and in the preceding note record only thirty-six in 1728 and twenty-seven in 1729. It is to be hoped that this source of information will some day be utilized. A case in point may be specified. Stephen and William Fessenden were both in the class of 1737 and so would have taken their A.M. in course in 1740. On July 1, 1741, the Corporation voted (College Book, iv. 231) that "Mr. Fessenden who was a Candidate the last year, be allow'd the Same Privilege" — that is, be allowed his second degree. The vote clearly indicates that one of the Fessendens received his A.M. in 1740, and from the Boston News Letter of August 28, 1740, we learn that it was "Gulielmus Fessenden." Hence it was Stephen who received his A.M. out of course in 1741, thus correcting an error in the Quinquennial, where it is stated that both Fessendens received their A.M. in 1741.

A curious fact to which, apparently, attention is now called for the first time is that the Quinquennial contains the names of several men who never received the A.B. degree at all. Three instances may be given. Ebenezer Hartshorn entered in the class of 1732, left College, in 1737 was given an A.M., and his name is printed under his class (1732). George Erving entered in the class of 1757, left College, in 1762 obtained an A.M. from Glasgow University, was admitted to the same degree *ad eundem* at Harvard in 1762, and his name is printed under his class (1757). Amos Windship entered in the class of 1771, left College, in 1790 was given both an A.M. and an M.B., and his name is printed under his class (1771). On August 19, 1830, the Corporation "Voted — That in the present number of Colleges in the United States, & variety of studies required in them, that it is inexpedient to grant generally, degrees *ad eundem*" (Corporation Records, p. 186).

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about the day to irritate the former,[1] while the latter were still obliged to take special measures for preventing disorders. On June 15, 1730, the Corporation voted that "there be no publick Dinner at ye Commencement ys year;" [2] and on June 27, 1733, the Corporation —

had then an Jnterview with three of ye Justices in Cambridge (the rest not coming) to concert measures to keep good order at ye approaching Commencement; and it was agre'd, yt ye Justices should give a Warrant to m^r^ Samuel Gookin, who (getting six men with him) should Jndeavour to prevent all disorders, by watching & walking towards ye evening of Commencement day, & also ye night following; and yt they should be in and about ye Entry at ye College Hall at Dinner time, to prevent disorders there; and yt as a Reward for their Service, ye Steward should pay on ye College account .20^s^ to m^r^ Gookin & 10^s^ a piece to ye rest.[3]

An account in the Weekly Rehearsal of June 26, 1732, began as follows:

Harvard College, Cambridge.

It was formerly the Happiness of this Seminary to be acquainted with things *a priori*; but since we have lately run into the *Posteriori* argument, it will not be improper to publish that our Commencement was held on Friday last. *Heu quam dissimilis sui!* (p. 2/2).

The popular discontent was voiced in a communication written on the first Wednesday in July, 1733:

Cambridge, July 4. On the 29th of the last Month, being the Day for *Commencement*, there was seen here a very fine Appearance of young Gentlemen, who to the Number of *Seventy*, had the Honours of the *College* conferred on them. There was as great a Throng of the *Rabble*, as might have been expected on the Occasion, if it had been ever so *public*: Which made it a Difficulty with many to see through the Propriety of changing the *Epithet of the Day*: Unless the *Commencement* might be called *Private*, by reason that only here and there a Gentleman of Education and Character was present at it. — 'Tis generally tho't, the *Riffraff*

[1] The advertisements in the newspapers informing the candidates for their second degree when to appear in Cambridge gave a clue. A glance at the list of Commencement Days (pp. 378–384, below) shows that during the nine years (1727–1735) when these private celebrations obtained, Commencement ranged from June 23 to July 5 and that the day was always Friday, except in 1730 when it was Wednesday.

[2] College Book, iv. 145. [3] iv. 166.

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are as well pleas'd with *Commencement* as ever; there being full Room left for their *universal Appearance*. Nor indeed does the *uncertain Appointment* of it bear hard upon any, those only excepted, who have always been acknowledged to have added a Glory to these Solemnities. They wou'd not encourage the Tho't, that those who have the Appointment of the Day, purposely so contrive to fix it, as that they must be unavoidably absent: yet so it happens in fact, and to the no small uneasiness of many that wish well to the College. — But 'tis believed, the greatest Admirers of these *Private Commencements*, are by this Time fully convinced, they are but a meer Name, without any Manner of Advantage: Nor can it from henceforth, with any Conscience, be pleaded, that they are an *effectual Means* to guard against that Noise and Bustle, those Disorders and Irregularities, that have been represented as the inseparable Attendants of *Publick Commencements*.

This Day is to be kept in honour to the *memorable First Wednesday in July*; — and 'tis expected, something of it's *ancient Glory* will be seen to continue it remarkable.[1]

On July 1, 1734, the Corporation —

Voted, yt ye Commencement for this year be on ye next Fryday, viz. the .5th. Jnstant.

[1] Boston News Letter, July 5, 1733, p. 2/1. An account in the New England Weekly Journal of July 2 reads in part as follows:

Cambridge, June 30. 1733.

Yesterday was the Commencement, at which His Excellency the GOVERNOUR [Belcher] was present, being attended by a number of the King's Officers, and Col. *Hatch's* Troop of Horse Guards; His Excellency brought with Him in his Chariot the Honourable Mr. GEORGE TOWNSHEND Son to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, and Nephew to the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT WALPOLE (p. 2/1).

George Townshend, later Admiral, was then a youth of eighteen, and was serving under Captain Thomas Durell on the Scarborough. To the Commencement of 1711 Governor Dudley brought General John Hill — brother of Queen Anne's favorite Abigail Hill, Lady Masham, and the "Jack" Hill depicted by Thackeray and others — and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, who were in command of the land and sea forces in the disastrous expedition against Quebec. But for the intercession of Dudley, Hill, and Walker, John Wainwright, who "stood Convict of being . . . in a Riot late in the night," would have lost his degree. (College Book, iv. 39–40.) In 1744 some Mohawk chiefs, then visiting Boston, were brought to Commencement by Governor Shirley and dined in the College Hall (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 257). So far as I have observed, the presence of distinguished guests (except, of course, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors) was first noted on the Commencement programmes in 1868.

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That for ye future, ye fixing ye day for ye Commencement be more seasonably considered by ye Corporation, yt so there may be a greater Latitude in making choice of a day for that Solemnity.[1]

The following account appeared in the Weekly Rehearsal of July 7, 1735:

At the Commencement at *Cambridge* on Friday last, 59 young Gentlemen received their Degrees, *viz.* 38 Bachelors and 21 Masters, on which Occasion a vast Number of People assembled there, notwthstanding all the Care that had been taken to keep it *private*. 'Tis said the Meeting House was so prodigiously crowded, that the Galleries were in danger of falling; and several Persons were so apprehensive of their Danger, that they jumped out at the Windows, and others with great Difficulty got out thro' the Doors: And tho' no Mischief ensued, yet there will doubtless be some Caution taken for the better securing the House for the future, if there should ever be another *private* Commencement.

We hear that the Hon. and Rev. Overseers of the College, observing the many Inconveniences that attend the keeping Commencement on a *Friday*, have voted to alter the Day; and 'tis generally thought that for the future it will be kept on a *Wednesday*, as usual (p. 2).

The report of a change was somewhat premature, but at a meeting of the Overseers on July 4, 1735, "Upon a Debate had about the Commencemt Voted that Fryday is an Inconvenient day for the solemnizing the Commencement and that the further consideration of the affair of Commencemt be referred to the next Overseers meeting."[2] On November 27 the Overseers voted "That The Consideration of the affair of the Commencemt be referred to this Committee to make report thereon to the Overseers at their meeting;"[3] and on April 13, 1736, "The first article of the Report of the Committee (appointed Nov. 27th 1735) respecting the day of the Commencemt &c was accepted and recommended to the Consideration of the Corporation."[4] On May 3 the Corporation took this action:

Pursuant to ye Recommendation of ye Honble & Rev^nd^ Overseers at their late meeting, it is ordered, yt ye Commencement for this year be on ye first Wenesday of July next, and that there be seasonable notice given hereof in ye publick Prints, anything in ye College Laws to ye contrary notwithstanding.[5]

[1] College Book, iv. 173.
[2] Overseers' Records, i. 145.
[3] i. 148.
[4] i. 149.
[5] College Book, iv. 189.

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This vote received the consent of the Overseers on May 20,[1] and thus at last, after nine years of uncertainty, the old day for Commencement was once again returned to.[2]

1740

August 27. On June 9 the Corporation voted "That the Cõmencem[t] this Year be on the first Wednesday of July next;"[3] but on June 23 different action was taken:

Vote. 1. Whereas thro' the holy Providence of God Several Families in the Town of Cambridge are visited wth the Throat Distemper, & the Pres[dts] & Stew[ds] Families,[4] are under very afflicted Circumstances by Reason of that Mortal Sickness: And whereas we apprehend that there is great Danger of the Distemper spreading & prevailing, as it hath done formerly in other Places, & that the students are much endangered thereby; Therefore Voted that they be immediately dismiss'd from the College & that the Vacation begin from this Time, And that the Commencem[t] for this Year be not until the expiration of the Vacation, the particular Day for which, shall be hereafter determin'd, & public notice given seasonably to those that are concern'd in said Solemnity, & that the Candidates for their Second Degree this Year, be excus'd from attending at s[d] College as required by a late Advertisem[t][5]

On July 28 the Corporation voted "That the Cõmencem[t] this Year, be upon the twenty-seventh Day of August next."[6]

[1] Overseers' Records, i. 150.

[2] On June 10, 1741, the Overseers took the following action:

Upon a Motion made & Seconded and a Considerable debate thereupon — The Question was put whether it shal be recommended to the Corporation to make an Order for suspending for this present year the Laws relating to the Commencemt so far as they may be thought inconsistent with a more private manner of giving the degrees and also that it be recommended to the said Corporation that thereupon the degrees be given in as private a way as may be — wch passed in the Negative (Overseers' Records, i. 191).

[3] College Book, iv. 222–223.

[4] The President and the Steward were the Rev. Edward Holyoke and Andrew Boardman (*d* 1747). On July 3 Holyoke noted: "The Com[mence]ment put by on account of the throat distemper" (Holyoke Diaries, p. 6). In July Paul Dudley wrote: "The Commencement put by this year by reason of the Throat Distemper at Cambridge. The President's Lady died of it the latter end of June" (Diary, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxv. 30). This was Holyoke's second wife, Margaret Appleton, who died June 25 (Holyoke Diaries, p. 6).

[5] College Book, iv. 222–223.

[6] iv. 223.

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1749

June 30. On May 15 the Corporation took the following action:

Whereas the present is a Year of uncommon Dearness of the Necessaries of Life, & as there are generally extravagant Expenses as well as great Disorders at the Comencemt, And as there hath been a Proposal from three Gentlemen who have Sons that are Candidates for their Degrees this Year, to give to the College the Sum of one Thousand Pounds old Tenor provided a Tryal be made this Year of a Comencemt in a more private Manner Than usual; And also inasmuch as the College Treasury is at present in a low State, Therefore it is voted, That the Comencemt this Year be manag'd agreable to the above Proposal, And that the Honble & Revd the Overseers be requested, to consent that the Degrees be given this Year to the several Candidates, wthout their Presence, Said Candidates being first presented to the sd Honble & Reverend Board for their Approbation; And that there be Theses & Questions printed & Disputations had as usual; And that this Vote be presented to the Honble & Revd the Overseers for their Approbation.[1]

This vote was presented to the Overseers on May 18, but nothing was done about it until June 9, when it "passed in the Negative."[2] Nevertheless on June 21 the Corporation voted "That the Comencemt this Year, be upon Fryday, the thirtieth Day of this Jnstant,"[3] though no reason for the change in date was assigned.

1752

There was no public Commencement this year, for reasons given by the Corporation on May 4th:

Vote. 1. Whereas by the Holy Providence of God, the small-pox, hath some time since & now is in the Town of Cambridge, upon which Account all the Students of Harvard College have been dismissed to their several Homes; And that there is no likelyhood, that they can with any Safety come together to attend the Commencement this Year, Therefore Voted that the several Candidates for their first & Second Degrees, shall be admitted to their sd Degrees, without their personal Attendance. Provided, They shall on or before the twenty fifth Day of June next, pay or cause to be paid the President's Fee, and shall also answer all their College Dues, as the Law requires, bringing or sending to the Presdt a certificate thereof, from the Steward as usual.

[1] College Book, iv. 298–299.
[2] Overseers' Records, ii. 14, 15.
[3] College Book, iv. 300.

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2. That the manner of Admission of the Candidates (qualifyed as in the above Vote) to their several Degrees Shall be by their Names being inserted in a General Diploma in the usual Form *Mutatis mutandis*: To be sign'd by the Pres^{dt} in the name of the Corporation & to be enter'd in the College Records, And also, That the s^{d} Names shall in due Time, be transferr'd to the printed Catalogue of Graduates. . . .

3. That the Diploma mention'd in the above Vote, be in the following Form. . . .[1]

The general diploma is still preserved in the College Library, and, as printed in the Boston Evening Post of July 6, 1752 (p. 4/1), reads as follows:

NEW-ENGLAND.

Cambridge, July 1. 1752.

The following is the Copy of the DIPLOMA *by which the several Candidates for both the first and second Degreees at* Harvard-College, *this Year, have been been graduated.*

Locus Sigilli.

SENATUS Academiæ *Cantabrigiensis* in *Novâ Angliâ*, OMNIBUS in Christo Fidelibus, præsentes has Literas inspecturis vel audituris, SALUTEM in Domino sempiternam.

Notum facimus, quod Nos (consentientibus Honorandis admodum ac Reverendis Academiæ nostræ Inspectoribus) per Præsentes admittimus

Dominos . . . [here follow 29 names] . . .

antedictæ Academiæ Alumnos, ad Gradum primum in Artibus:

Dominos etiam . . . [here follow 15 names] . . .

Alumnos quoq; antedictæ Academiæ, ad secumdum Gradum in Artibus, dantes & concedentes iis, omnia Insignia, Jura, & Privilegia, Dignitates, ac Honores, ad Gradus suos spectantia.

In cujus Rei Testimonium, Literis hisce, communi Academiæ Sigillo munitis, Nomen meum (pro Authoritate mihi commissa) subscribo, Calendis Quintilibus, *Anno* 1752.

Edvardus Holyoke, Præses.

1753

On May 21 the Corporation voted "That the Coñencement this year be on the Eighteenth Day of July, & that the usual Advertise-

[1] College Book, vii. 13. Approved by the Overseers on June 10, 1752 (Overseers' Records, ii. 26).

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ment with respect thereto, be put in the public News-Papers." [1] Thus the day was changed from the first Wednesday to the third Wednesday in July. Though no reason was assigned, the change was doubtless due to the alteration in the calendar; for on the same day the Corporation took the following action:

That whereas by long Custom it hath been usual for the Senior-Sophisters to attend their Exercises with their Tutors till the tenth Day of March, Voted, That they shall hence forward attend s[d] Exercises till the twenty-first Day of March, agreable to the Difference of the New & Old Stiles. And whereas by a Law made June 27. 1743. Lib. 4. pag. 252. The Senior-Sophisters were oblig'd to attend the Professor's Lectures till the twentieth Day of June, They shall now attend the s[d] Lectures to the first Day of July, according also to the Difference of the Two Stiles.[2]

1754

On April 30 the Overseers voted "That it be recommended to the Corporation to Consider whether the Commencemt day this year may be appointed the first Wednesday in July;" [3] but the Corporation apparently took no notice of this request, and on May 27 appointed July 17.[4]

1757

On June 6 the Corporation voted "That the Commencem[t] this year be on Wednesday the thirteenth Day of July next;" [5] but on June 15 the following action was taken:

Vote 1. Where as at our Meeting of June 6. 1757. We pass'd a Vote that Comencem[t] this year should be on Wednesday the thirteenth day of July next, & that the Advertisement, with respect thereto, be put out in the public News-papers, It was now voted to reconsider the s[d] Vote.

[1] College Book, vii. 22.

[2] College Book, vii. 22–23. There was no meeting of the Corporation between August 27 and September 18, 1752; but between those meetings President Holyoke has written: "Mem[o] All the after Dates are according to the Kalendar as it hath been corrected by Act of Parliament" (vii. 16). The Act of Parliament, passed in 1751, decreed that the following first day of January should be New Year's Day (instead of, as formerly, March 25th), and that in September, 1752, the 3rd should be reckoned the 14th.

[3] Overseers' Records, ii. 30.

[4] College Book, vii. 32. No action was taken by the Corporation at its meeting held on April 30, and no meeting was recorded between April 30 and May 27.

[5] College Book, vii. 59.

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2. Upon the reconsideration of our Vote on June 6. as above mention'd, Voted, The s^{d} Vote null & void.

3. That in Consideration of the expensive & Distressing War, in wch We are involv'd, the Severe Drought with which We are now visited & the very dark Aspect of divine Providence upon the public Affairs of the Province, wch call for public Humiliations & Fastings, rather than Rejoycings & festival Entertainments. In Consideration also, That it is very doubtfull, whether there will be any convenient Place,[1] by the usual Time, for the carrying on the public Exercises of the Commencem^{t}

Therefore voted, That the Com̄encem^{t} this year, be carried on, in the Manner following, That the Names of all the Undergraduates, for their first & Second Degrees, be presented to the Honble & Rev^{d} the Overseers, for their Consent to their receiving their respective Degrees, at such Time, as ye Corporation shall appoint, without the Presence of the s^{d} Honble & Rev^{d} the Overseers on that Day, any Law, Custom or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding, And that the Exercises on this Com̄encem^{t} be such as the Pres^{dt} shall appoint & be perform'd in the Chapel.[2]

On June 17th the third vote was negatived by the Overseers,[3] whereupon, on the same day, the Corporation voted that "Whereas by the second Vote of our last Meeting, Our Vote at our Meeting June 6th appointing the Com̄encemt Day was null'd, it was now proceeded to appoint again the s^{d} Day & hereby it is appointed to be on the thirteenth Day of July next, & that the usual Advertisement with respect thereto, be put out in the public News-Papers."[4] Finally, on June 27 the Corporation came into the following votes, which on June 28 were approved by the Overseers:[5]

3. Whereas by the holy Providence of God, there hath been a distressing Drought upon the Land, whereby the first Crop of Hay hath been greatly diminish'd, & is now past recovery, whereby there is a great Scarcity as to horse feeding, at this time, & that the english grain[6] is greatly shortned, in Consideration also of the dark State of Providence, with respect to the War We are now engaged in, wch Providences call for Humiliac̄on̄ & Fasting, rather than Festival Entertainments. Also in Consideration of the Doubt we are in, that there will be no Con-

[1] The meeting-house in Cambridge was then being rebuilt: cf. p. 377 note 1, below.

[2] College Book, vii. 59–60.

[3] Overseers' Records, ii. 47.

[4] College Book, vii. 60.

[5] Overseers' Records, ii. 47–49.

[6] By "English grain" is meant wheat.

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venience as to an House to meet in for the Comencem^{t} Therefore Voted, That the several Candidates for their first & Second Degrees this year, shall be admitted to their s^{d} Degrees without their Personal Attendance, Provided, They shall on or before the thirteenth Day of July next, pay or cause to be p^{d} the Pres^{dts} Fee for Degrees, & shall also answer all their College Dues, as the Law of the College requires, bringing or sending to the Pres^{dt} a Certificate thereof, from the Steward as usual, and that ye Manner of admission of the Candidates qualified as affores^{d} to their several Degrees, shall be by their Naimes being inserted in a general Diploma in the usual Form, *Mutatis mutandis* to be signed by the Pres^{dt} in the Name of the Corporation, & to be enter'd in the College Records, & also that the s^{d} Names shall be thence transferr'd to the printed Catalogue of Graduates; And that the Diploma mention'd in this Vote, be in the following Form. . . .

5. As we have on our Meeting June 17, 1757, voted, That the Cōencem^{t} shall be on the thirteenth Day of July next, so s^{d} Vote was now reconsidered, & thereupon it was voted, That if the Honble & Revd Overseers, shall approve the above third Vote, That then the s^{d} Vote of June 17 shall be null & Void, otherwise shall remain in full Force.

6. That in Case the above third Vote be approv'd by the Honble & Revd Overseers, That then the Stew^{d} shall not demand any Fee for the Cōencem^{t} Dinner.[1]

The diploma for 1757 was apparently not printed in the Boston newspapers,[2] and the original has not been preserved.

1760

On May 2 the Corporation ordered "That no Student, either Graduate or Undergraduate, shall have any Entertainm^{t} at their Chambers, after Dinner on Thursday in the Cōencem^{t} Week, on Pain of Punishm^{t} by Degradation, or Fine, not exceeding forty

[1] College Book, vii. 60–62. On May 28, 1759, the Corporation voted "That it shall be deemed no Offence, if any Scholar shall at the Cōencem^{t} make & entertain any of the Guests at his Chamber, wth Punch, any Law Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding" (vii. 75).

[2] In the form of the diploma entered in College Book, iv. 61, the date is left blank: "Subscribo ——— Anno ———." Neither the Boston News Letter of July 14 nor the Boston Evening Post of July 18 mentioned the day. But in the Boston Gazette (the only other paper published in Boston at that time) of Monday, July 18, was a paragraph beginning, "The following young Gentlemen received their Degrees as Bachelors of Arts by a Diploma last Wednesday, viz. . . ." (p. 2/1) — that is, July 13.

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Shillings, at the Discretion of the Pres^dt & Tut^rs." [1] On May 6 the Overseers approved this vote, but themselves took action in regard to another matter:

8. The Report of the Committee appointed Oct: 2. 1759 to enquire into the state of the College was read

In their report the Com^tee say — First, . . .

Secondly, The Com^tee took into consideration a practice which has obtained within these few years of addressing the female sex in the orations on commencement days, which practice appears to the Com^tee to be exceptionable & improper & they therefore report that it be recommended to the Presid^t from time to time to inspect the orations before they are delivered on commencement days, & to prevent such like addresses or any other indecencies or improprieties for the future.

Voted that this article of the report be accepted.[2]

It will be remembered that there was a set day for Commencement from 1684 to 1726, though occasionally the set day was departed from during that period. From 1727 to 1760 there was no set day, but each year the Corporation appointed the day, which varied considerably during that period. On October 13, 1760, the Corporation voted "That the Comencem^t be henceforth on the third Wednesday in July annually. And that this Vote be presented to the Honble & Rev^d the Overseers, at their next Meeting for their Approbation." [3] The vote was duly approved by the Overseers on October 21; [4] and, except for special reasons on several occasions, the third Wednesday in July was Commencement Day from 1761 to 1801, both included.

1764

On May 23 the Corporation took the following action:

3. In Consideration that the Candidates for their Degrees @ the Comencem^t have been hindered by Reason of the Small Pox from their proper Preparations for the Comencem^t Exercises, & as by the burning of the Library [5] they have been depriv'd of the Advantages for such Preparations, considering also the Danger of Infection, wch may reasonably be apprehended by a great Concourse of People, wch is usual on the Comencem^t Daies, Besides the great Inconveniences we are under,

[1] College Book, vii. 80.
[2] Overseers' Records, ii. 65.
[3] College Book, vii. 84.
[4] Overseers' Records, ii. 70.
[5] Harvard Hall was burned January 24th: see Publications of this Society, xiv. 2–43.

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on acc^{t} of the late sorrowful Desolations, Therefore Voted, That the several Candidates for their first & second Degrees, shall be admitted to their s^{d} Degrees, without their personal Attendance, Provided, They shall on or before the fourth Day of July next pay or cause to be paid the Pres^{dts} Fee, and shall also answer all their College Dues, . . .

For the form of the above mentioned general Diploma vid. pag. 13.[1]

On May 28 the above vote was "read & non-concurr'd" by the Overseers, who resolved "that there be no public Commencement this year, but that it be recommended to the Corporation, to pass a Vote that the same shall be carried on" in a certain manner.[2] On May 29 the Corporation voted that since the above third vote had been non-concurred by the Overseers at a small meeting, a general meeting of the Overseers should be called to consider it; and further voted "That the several Candidates for their first & Second Degrees shall, before they are enter'd in the general Diploma, be presented *Nominatim*, to the Honble & Revd Overseers, for their Approbation."[3] On June 2 the Corporation voted:

2. In Consideration That the Candidates for their Degrees @ the Cōmencem^{t} have been hinderd by Reason of the Small Pox, from their proper Preparations for the Cōmencem^{t} Exercises, & as by the burning of the Library, They have been depriv'd of the Advantages, for such Preparations, considering also the Danger of Infection, wch may reasonably be apprehended by a great Concourse of People, wch is usual on the Cōmencem^{t} Daies, besides the great Inconveniences we are Under on Account of the late sorrowful Desolations, Therefore Voted, That the several Candidates for both their first & second Degrees, being presented *Nominatim* to the Honble & Revd Overseers & by them approv'd, shall be admitted to their s^{d} Degrees wthout their personal Attendance, Provided, That on or before the *fourth Day of July next*, they discharge all their College Dues, wch the Law requires of every Candidate for his Degree, previous to his receiving it. And that the Manner of Admission of the candidates (qualifyed as affores^{d}) to their Degrees, shall be, by their Names being inserted in a general Diploma, in the usual Form,

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[1] College Book, vii. 117–118. The reference is to vii. 13, where the form for 1752 is entered.

[2] Overseers' Records, ii. 163–167.

[3] College Book, vii. 118–119.

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Mutatis mutandis to be sign'd by the President in the Name of the Corporation, & to be enter'd in the College Records, And also that the s^d^ Names, shall in due Time be transferr'd to the printed Catalogue of Graduates.[1]

On June 8 the Overseers referred the above vote to their next meeting on July 4th.[2] On July 2 the Corporation passed a vote "of the same Ten^r^ with the second Vote of June 2^d^ . . . excepting the following Alteration, instead of the Words *fourth Day of Jul next* were inserted the *Seventeenth Day of this Instant.*"[3] The Overseers expressed their approval on July 4th,[4] and thus the vexed matter was finally decided. The diploma, dated "Decimo quinto Calendarum Sextilis, *Anno* 1764," is printed in the Boston Gazette of July 30, p. 1/2. The original is in the College Library.

1768

The Quaestiones are dated "Decimo tertio Calendas Sextilis, Anno MDCCLXVIII." — that is, July 20. An entry in the Overseers' Records (III. 6) is headed, "July 20. Commencement." On the same day the Corporation passed the following —

Vote. 1: The Candidates for their first Degrees this year, desiring they may appear habited this Day in the Manufactures of the Country, & having provided accordingly such their Habits, Voted, That the seventh law of Chapter 10. of the College laws [requiring the Candidates for their Degrees to appear on the Comencem^t^ in dark Blue or black][5] be suspended for this Year.

Vote. 2: That the above Vote be presented to the Honble and reverend Overseers for their Approbation.

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[1] College Book, vii. 119–120.

[2] Overseers' Records, ii. 170.

[3] College Book, vii. 121.

[4] Overseers' Records, ii. 174. The following is taken from their meeting of July 18 (ii. 177–178):

The form of Presentation — with the Governor's *Placet.* added in ye Psence & at ye Desire of ye Overseers. . . .

Placetne?	Placet
Cantabrigiæ Julij. 17mo	Fra. Bernard
1764.	Bostoni Julij 18mo 1764.

[5] The square brackets are in the original.

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The Overseers refus'd to act upon this Vote but however admitted the s^d^ Candidates to their respective Degrees habited as affores^d^.[1]

And the Boston News Letter of July 21 stated that —

Yesterday being the public Commencement, there was a great Concourse of very polite Company at HARVARD COLLEGE in Cambridge. . . .

The Candidates for their first Degree appeared in the Forenoon in black Habits, as usual: But in the Afternoon they were dressed entirely in our own Manufactures agreeable to their laudable Resolution last Fall; and were permitted by the Honorable and Reverend Corporation and Overseers to receive the public Honor of the College in the same.

The Theses were printed on fine white Demy Paper, manufactured at Milton in New England (p. 1/2).

Yet, in spite of this conclusive evidence, the Theses are dated "Decimo-tertio Sextilis, Anno MDCCLXVIII." — that is, August 13. The error obviously was due to the dropping out by the printers of the word "Calendas."

1772

No meeting of the Corporation between July 7 and September 7 is recorded, and no meeting of the Overseers between May 5 and October 6. The Quaestiones are dated "Idibus Quintilibus, MDCCLXXII." — that is, July 15. And the Boston News Letter of July 16 began an account of the day with the words:

YESTERDAY being the Anniversary Commencement at HARVARD-COLLEGE, after the Public Exercises the following Gentlemen were admitted to their respective Degrees (p. 3/1).

Yet the Theses are dated "Decimo-quarto Calendas Sextilis, Anno MDCCLXXII." — that is, July 19. There is no reasonable explanation of this error, which appears to have been a sheer blunder.

1774

On May 31 the Corporation, —

Considering the present dark aspect of our public Affairs Voted that there be no public Commencement this Year and that the Candidates for their first & second degrees after having been presented nominatim

[1] College Book, vii. 181. The Overseers' Records are silent regarding this matter.

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to & approved by the Honourable & Reverend Board of Overseers, shall receive their Degrees in a general Diploma, signed by the Corporation. Provided that on or before the 13th Day of July next they bring to Dr Appleton Senr Fellow of the Corporation a Certificate from the Steward that they have paid the stated Fee for a Degree, and have discharged all College Dues, required by Law except for the public Dinner on Commencement Day. As also a Certificate from the Librarian that they have returned in good Order or replaced all the Books they they have borrowed from the Library.

Voted, that a Copy of the foregoing Vote be published in the Newspapers signed by D^r^. Appleton.[1]

An item dated "BOSTON, July 21," in the Boston Gazette of July 25, stated: "We hear from Cambridge that yesterday the Degrees were conferred on the Candidates by a general Diploma; of which the following is an exemplification, *viz.* . . ." (p. 1/3). Then follows the diploma, dated "Die vicesimó Julii, Anno Salutis Millesimo septingentisimo septuagesimo quarto." The original diploma is not extant.

1775

At a meeting of the Corporation "at Watertown, at Mr Fowle's House," July 31, —

The Distress & Confusion occasioned by the present War, of which Cambridge has been one principal Seat ever since the 19th day of April last, having render'd it impracticable to hold a public Commencement, or make the necessary preparation for conferring Degrees at the Stated Season

Voted 1. That there be no public Commencement this Year, & that the Candidates whose names are in the List annexed (*vid*: List in Diploma page 293) & which being also presented to the Hon^b^ & Revd Board of Overseers, sitting this day in the Council Chamber, may be by them approved, shall receive their Degrees in a general Diploma, signed by the Corporation. Provided that within one week from this day they pay the President the stated Fee for a Degree, & likewise bring him a Certificate from the Steward that they have discharged all College dues required by Law, except for the public Dinner on Commencement Day;

[1] College Book, vii. 273. Approved by the Overseers June 2 (Overseers' Records, iii. 73). A notice that there would be no public Commencement appeared in the Boston Gazette of June 6, p. 1/1.

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also a Certificate from the Librarian that they have returned in good Order or replaced all the Books they have borrowed from the Library.[1]

On October 2 the Corporation voted "That the following general Diploma, sign'd by the several Members of the Corporation to whom it could be conveniently presented, be published as soon as possible in the weekly Papers."[2] The following notice appeared in the Boston Gazette of October 16:

BY the present War, into which the American Colonies have been driven, to save themselves from Oppression and Despotism, Harvard College, *in* Cambridge, *has been several Months in an interrupted and dispersed State, so that the annual* COMMENCEMENT *could not be held, nor Degrees given, at the usual Season*:

But, by the good Providence of GOD, that Society, which, from the first Settlement of *New-England* has been so great a Blessing to the Public, is at last restored to Order, and now collected in the Town of *Concord*. And the Candidates for their respective Degrees the present Year, have had Academical Honors conferred upon them by a general Diploma, — a Copy of which follows (p. 3/2).

The diploma is dated "tertio Die Octobris, Anno Domini, 1775." The original is in the College Library.

1776

On June 24 the Corporation voted "That, in consideration of the difficult & unsettled state of our public affairs, there be no public Commencement this year; & that the Candidates for their first & second Degrees, after having been presented *nominatim* to, & approved by the Honorable & Revd Board of Overseers, shall receive their Degrees by a general Diploma signed by the Corporation;" and "That a Copy of the foregoing Vote, signed by the President, be published in the Watertown News-Paper, & one of the Boston Papers."[3] Accordingly the Boston Gazette (then, owing to the siege of Boston, published at Watertown) of September 2 stated, under date of August 22, that "Last Wednesday se'nnight the degrees were, by a general Diploma, conferred on the Candidates; of

[1] College Book, vii. 290–291. Approved by the Overseers July 31 (Overseers' Records, iii. 80).

[2] College Book, vii. 293.

[3] College Book, vii. 303. Approved by the Overseers July 2 (Overseers' Records, iii. 94). The diploma is recorded in College Book, vii. 306–307.

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which the following is an exemplification, viz. . . ." (p. 1/1). The diploma is dated "Die decimo quarto Augusti, Anno Domini, 1776." The original has not been preserved.

1777

On June 16 the Corporation voted —

That in Consideration of the public Difficulties occasioned by the continuance of the present unhappy War, the Apprehensions, that still in some degree remain, of an Invasion of this State, & also the apparent Danger of the spreading of the Small-Pox in the natural way in this Town, there be No PUBLIC COMMENCEMENT THIS YEAR. And that the Candidates for their first & second Degrees, after having been presented *nominatim* to & approved by the Hon^le^ & Revd Board of Overseers, shall receive their Degrees by a General Diploma, signed by the Corporation: . .

That if the above Vote shall be concurred by the Board of Overseers, it be published as soon as may be in one or more of the Boston News Papers.[1]

The Boston Gazette of July 28 contained this notice:

(*Omitted last Week for Want of Room.*)
HARVARD COLLEGE, *Cambridge, July* 16 1777.
This Day the Candidates for the Honors of this Society, received their Degrees by a general Diploma, of which the following is a Copy (p. 1/1).

The diploma is dated "Die decimo sexto Julii, Anno Domini, millesimo septingentesimo [septuagesimo] septimo," the word in square brackets being inadvertently omitted by the printer. The original has not been preserved.

1778

On June 10 the Corporation voted —

That in Consideration of the public Difficulties occasioned by the Continuance of the present War; the apparent danger of spreading the Small Pox in the natural way; in particular the Situation of the President's[2] Family now visited with that Distemper; the want of necessary Accommodations in the Town of Cambridge, the Houses being crowded with British Officers;[3] there be no public Commencement this Year, & that

[1] College Book, vii. 323. Approved by the Overseers June 19 (Overseers' Records, iii. 109). The diploma is recorded in College Book, vii. 327–328.

[2] Rev. Samuel Langdon.

[3] The result of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

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the Candidates . . . shall receive their Degrees by a General Diploma signed by the Corporation.[1]

The following appeared in the Boston Gazette of July 20:

Harvard College, in Cambridge, July 15, 1778.

THIS Day being the stated Time for giving Degrees, the young Gentlemen who were Candidates received the Honors of the Society by the following general Diploma, a Public Commencement being judged by the Corporation and Overseers, inconvenient in these Times of Public Difficulty (p. 2/2).

The diploma is dated "Die decimo quinto Julii, Anno Domini millesimo Septingentesimo Septuagesimo Octavo." The original is not extant.

1779

On May 11 the Corporation took the following action:

Vote 10. The Board of Overseers having, at their Meeting of May 4. 1779, given it as their opinion "that it is not expedient that there should be any public Commencement this Year"[2] therefore Voted — that in compliance with their Opinion, the Law respecting Commencement be for this Year suspended.

Vote 11. That in compliance with the recommendation of the Board of Overseers, "to give that whole Board an opportunity to meet at Cambridge, & inquire into the qualifications of the Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, previous to their receiving that Degree"[2] The Candidates shall hold themselves in readiness to go thro' all the Academical exercises usual on commencement Days, at a time to be appointed by the Corporation; & that these Exercises shall be performed in the Chapel, or Meeting House; and that the said Degree shall then be conferred on the Candidates in the Form used on Commencement Days if practicable; but the day to be appointed for this shall be kept private, and notice given of it to the Overseers only two days before the Solemnity; that the Students shall be prohibited giving any entertainment at their Chambers; & the Overseers, the President, Corporation, Governors & Instructors of the College, shall dine together at the expence of the Candidates for both Degrees: and no general or public Invitation to dine shall be given on that Occasion.[3]

[1] College Book, viii. 2–3. Approved by the Overseers June 10 (Overseers' Records, iii. 131–132). The diploma is recorded in College Book, viii. 5–6.

[2] Overseers' Records, iii. 156.

[3] College Book, viii. 24. Approved by the Overseers May 20 (Overseers' Records, iii. 157–158).

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On June 8 the Corporation voted —

That the Exhibitions, in compliance with the Recommendation of the Overseers, to give that Board an Opportunity of inquiring into the Qualifications of the Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, be perform'd on Friday June 18th at 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon: & that the Board of Overseers be notified on Wednesday preceding,[1]

Accordingly, it is recorded on June 18 that —

This Day the Candidates for a first Degree performed in the Meeting-House the Exercises usual on Commencement Days, agreeable to the 11th Vote of May 11th before a very respectible Assembly; which were introduced by a Latin Oration delivered by the President.[2]

The following account is taken from the Boston Gazette of June 21:

Last Friday the Overseers and Corporation of Harvard College met at Cambridge, to examine the Qualifications of the Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts this Year. After Dinner, the Candidates preceded the Corporation, the immediate Governors and the Overseers to the Meeting-House, where the Exercises usual upon a Commencement-Day, were performed. The young Gentlemen did themselves great Honor by their Performances and gave a respectable and brilliant Assembly a pleasing Proof of their Progress in Literature.

The same Day, the Corporation, with the Concurrence of the Overseers, conferred the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws upon the Honorable Major-General Gates; and upon Mr. de Valnais, the first Consul of His Most Christian Majesty in this State (p. 3/2).

Though the exercises were held on June 18 yet it was not until July 21 that, "The President having presented a List of Candidates for their first Degree, viz. in Course," it was voted by the Corporation "That the Candidates presented in the List be admitted to their first Degree."[3] In the Boston Gazette of August 9 appeared this account:

Cambridge, July 27, 1779

ON Wednesday last the Corporation of Harvard College, with the Consent of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, conferred on the Candidates for the Degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts the usual Honors of that University. The following is an Exemplification of the general Diploma (p. 1/1).

[1] College Book, viii. 27.
[2] viii. 27.
[3] viii. 29.

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The diploma is dated "Die Julii vigesimo primo, Anno Domini MDCCLXXIX." It is entered in College Book VIII. 30–31; and the original diploma is in the College Library.

1780

The class graduating this year presented the following petition:

To the Honorable and Reverend Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

Respected Gentlemen,

As there is a standing Law of this Society, that the Commencement of Graduates should be public: And as that law, for several years past, has for weighty reasons, been dispensed with. We, who are this year Candidates for the Academical honors, are induced to ask the same indulgence, that we may receive our degrees by a general Diploma. And we humbly beg leave to offer our reasons for the same; relying upon that candour & benevolence which you have ever manifested in your inspection into the welfare of this society.

In the first place, those weighty reasons which have hitherto been thought sufficient, for the omission of a public Commencement, we presume are so far from having become invalid, that they are now more urgent than ever yet they have been. The difficulties of the times & exorbitant prices of every necessary of life, may surely be plead with as much, if not more, propriety now, than could be at any former period. This we would mention as the first (and we would suppose sufficient) reason. But waving our public calamities, & such like reasons, which we are persuaded will ever have due weight in all your Counsels; we beg leave to set before you, the damages we have individually sustained, by the well-known depreciation of our currency, the low ebb to which many of our fortunes are reduced, & consequently the inability of many to defray the expences of a public Commencement. The charges of our Education have been almost insupportable, & have compelled many of us to encounter numerous difficulties, & to comply with many inconveniences. Numbers of us have been necessitated to forego the prosecution of our collegiate exercises, & to absent ourselves repeatedly for months together. Some of us who enter'd this society, presuming upon the indulgence & charity of the College, which we have experienced; & others, who were in easy and affluent circumstances, are now struggling with the misfortunes of the times, & almost despair of being able to discharge the expences necessary for the completion of our remaining studies.

Now if in this embarrassing situation, we should be called upon to

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support the exorbitant expence, consequent of a public Commencement; many of us will be necessitated (tho' with reluctance) to withdraw our connections, previous to the celebration of that day.

These matters thoroughly considered, we think it our duty, thus unanimously to address you on this occasion. It remains with you, Gentlemen, to consider the validity of our arguments, & to determine accordingly. And we doubt not in the least, but you will, in your determination, find it consistent, with your regard to this seminary, to consult the advantage & happiness of us your petitioners, who are,

in a literal sense & with the most dutiful
Respect
Your most obedient Pupils.[1]

At a meeting of the Overseers held May 2 this "Petition of the Seni-sophisters relative to Commencement read & referred;"[2] and on May 11 —

The petition of the Senior Sophisters, presented at the last meeting; praying that in consideration of their difficulties and sufferings by the depreciation of the currency, the law of the College which ordains that the Commencement of Graduates shall be public, may be suspended for this year, and they be permitted to receive their Degrees by a general Diploma; was again read & considered;

1 Voted that it be recommended to the Corporation to comply with the prayer of said Petition.[3]

On May 13 the Corporation, "Agreeably to the Recommendation of the Board of Overseers of the 11th instant — Voted — That the Law respecting a public Commencement be suspended for this year, & that the the Degrees be given by a general Diploma."[4] At a Corporation meeting held July 19, "The List of Candidates both for their first & second Degrees, who had complied with the Laws was presented by the President, & being read *nominatim*, Voted that the respective Degrees be granted them. N.B. The names will appear in a general Diploma."[5] A long notice filling two-thirds of a page appeared in the Continental Journal of July 27, in part as follows:

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[1] Harvard College Papers, ii. 138. The petition is signed by all of the thirty students in the graduating class except John Barrett, Nathaniel Bethune, Philip Draper, and James Hughes. The absence of these four names was perhaps due to rustication.

[2] Overseers' Records, iii. 195.

[3] iii. 196.

[4] College Book, viii. 54.

[5] viii. 56.

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HARVARD-COLLEGE, JULY 22, 1780.

ON Wednesday last, being commencement day, the usual honors of this university were granted by the corporation to the several candidates. . . . *An exemplification of the general diploma is here presented to the public* (p. 2).[1]

The diploma is dated "Die Julii vigesimo secundo, Anno Salutis MDCCLXXX, Reipublicæ vero Americanæ quinto." It is entered in College Book VIII. 57–58; but the original has not been preserved.

1781

The class graduating this year presented the following petition.

To ye Rev^d^ & Honble ye Corporation of Harvard College.

Gentlemen,

We, your dutiful Pupils, beg leave to lay before your honorable Body ye Reasons, that urge us to request, that we may be indulged with the honors of this Society without ye Difficulties & Expences of a public Commencement; & we flatter ourselves, they will appear sufficiently urgent to justify this application.

The political Difficulties of America & ye private Embarassments of Individuals have for several years past been deemed sufficient to excuse ye Candidates for Degrees from ye usual public Exhibition, & Expences, & we humbly conceive, ye weight of these reasons is by no means diminished; but rather increased.

The Expence of an Education at this University has been much greater since we have had ye honor of being your Pupils, than formerly, & we conceive, those attending a public Commencement must be equally augmented. The Preparations necessary for the Entertainment of so large a Concourse of People, as will probably be excited by ye novelty of it to attend, will be to all a great, & to some, who are from neighboring Towns & have large Connections, permit us to say, an intolerable Burthen.

The same Reasons, Gen^t^ urge us most earnestly to request you to dispense with such private Exhibitions as were required in 1779;[2] as those of us, who are from ye neighborhood, many of whom have suffered most

[1] The beginning of this notice, together with the names of those receiving degrees, was also printed in the Independent Chronicle of July 27, p. 3/3; but the omission of the statement that the degrees were granted by a general diploma and of the diploma itself, tends to convey the impression that the Commencement was a public one.

[2] See p. 357, above.

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severely by ye present public Troubles, would thus be necessarily involved in Expences nearly equal to those of a public Commencement.

These Reasons being premised, we do most earnestly entreat you, that the honor of this University may be granted us in the private & frugal Manner, in which they were indulged to ye Class of ye last Year.

We are, Gentlemen, with ye highest Respect,

Your dutiful Pupils [1]

Apparently the Corporation paid no attention to this petition, for on May 1 it voted "That it be recommended to the Candidates for their degrees this Year, that at the Commencement, they observe all that frugality which can consist with so public a day, and that no entertainment be given after Breakfast on Thursday morning." [2] At a meeting of the Overseers on the same day, "The question was put whether this Board think it expedient to recommend it to the Corporation to pass a vote for suspending for this year, the Law which orders a public Commencement? It passed in the Negative." [3] At a meeting of the Overseers on June 12, "A petition signed by a number of the senior class praying that there may be no public commencement this year was presented by the Secretary; which being read; after some debate it was Voted, that the Petitioners have leave to withdraw their petition." [4] In evident anticipation of a rousing old-time celebration, on July 4 the Corporation, —

For the prevention of Disorders on Commencement day, voted that the Honble Henry Gardner Esq: and the Honble Abraham Fuller Esq: Justices of the Peace thro' the State, and Loammi Baldwin Esq: Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, be requested to give their attendance on that day, & to pass the following night at Cambridge; and be informed that suitable lodgings will be provided for them.[5]

[1] Harvard College Papers, ii. 156. The petition has attached to it the names of all the members of the class except Isaac Bayley, Elisha Doane, Isaiah Lewis Green, and Elijah Paine. In a Calendar prepared some years ago, the late William G. Brown said: "The class of 1781 in the Quinquennial numbers twenty-seven & included all the signers of the above except Atkins." Mr. Brown overlooked the fact that Dudley Atkins afterwards changed his name to Dudley Atkins Tyng: hence all the signers duly received their degrees

[2] College Book, viii. 84.

[3] Overseers' Records, iii. 216.

[4] iii. 217. The petition to the Overseers has not been preserved.

[5] College Book, viii. 95. On July 18 the Corporation voted "That the Law respecting the dress of the Candidates for degrees be suspended for this day" (viii. 98).

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A long account filling two columns appeared in the Boston Gazette of July 30, in part as follows:

On Wednesday the 18th instant, a public Commencement, after an intermission of seven years, was again celebrated, with its ancient splendor, in the University of Cambridge.

The Governor,[1] the Lieutenant-Governor,[2] with the Council and Senate, were escorted, from His Excellency's seat, by a respectable number of gentlemen of civil and military character. At the boundary of the county of Middlesex, they were received by the Sheriff and a number of gentlemen from Cambridge. When His Excellency and his escort alighted at the steps of Harvard, they were received by the Fellows of the Corporation, the Professors, Librarian and Tutors, and conducted to the Philosophy-Chamber. After the usual business of the morning was finished, the procession to the meeting-house was formed in the following manner:

The military gentlemen, who escorted His Excellency;
The Candidates for the Degree of Bachellor of Arts;
The Candidates for the Degree of Master of Arts;
The Gentlemen of the Corporation;
The Professors, Librarian and Tutors;
The Sheriffs of Middlesex and Suffolk;
The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and other Gentlemen of the Board of Overseers.

The exercises were opened by an anthem, performed by a collegiate band of musicians. After this, a prayer was made by the Hollis Professor of Divinity,[3] who presided on the day. Prayer being ended, the Professor introduced the exercises of the Candidates, by a short address, in Latin, to the Governor and Board of Overseers. The exercises succeeded in the following order: . . .

The exercises of the morning being ended, the procession returned, in order, to the public hall, where an elegant entertainment was provided.

The exercises of the afternoon were opened with an oration, in English, "On the advantages of education, and the diffusion of knowledge through every part of the Commonwealth." By Mr. Thomas Dwight.

The following exercises were also assigned for the afternoon: . . .

These six exercises, for want of time, were necessarily omitted.

The Professor being seated in the President's chair, admitted, in

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[1] John Hancock.
[2] Thomas Cushing (H.C. 1744).
[3] Rev. Dr. Edward Wigglesworth (H.C. 1749).

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the form of the University, the following young gentlemen to [their degrees]. . . .

After the degrees were conferred, Mr. George Richards Minott pronounced, agreeably to ancient custom, a valedictory oration in Latin. The exercises of the day were closed with prayer and an anthem.

The exhibitions on this occasion were sensible, ingenius and learned; gave pleasure to a numerous and brilliant assembly of gentlemen and ladies, and evidently shew, that amidst the calamities of war, this University has not failed to pay a strict attention to every branch of useful and polite literature.

At the same time it appeared that an attention to these studies has not excluded from the University, a public spirit and a proper sense of our obligation to the friends of America, and her patriotic sons, who have distinguished themselves in aiding her councils and her arms against the public enemy; whose noble and generous exertions, tho' not professedly the subject of any of the exercises, did not fail of receiving that just applause which all good men pay to the wise, the virtuous and the brave (p. 2).[1]

1787

At a meeting of the Corporation held April 3, "A petition from the Senior Class praying for a private Commencement for certain reasons therein specified, was read; and thereupon, Voted, that the consideration of the petition be put off till Tuesday next." [2] On April 10 the following action was taken:

The petition of the Candidates for their first Degree praying that they may be indulged with a private Commencement, having been read, and the reasons on which the request is grounded maturely considered,

1. Voted, that the prayer of the petition cannot be granted; for it is the opinion of this Board that the public exercises of Commencement have an happy influence in exciting a laudable emulation among the

[1] On July 31 the Rev. John Eliot, then an Overseer, wrote to Jeremy Belknap: "We somewhat expected you down at Commencement. A truly academical day it was. Wigglesworth exceeded ye expectation of his warmest friends, and did honour to himself & the Society. The young gentlemen behaved to a charm. . . . Old Mother Harvard is a good old dame enough, & will nourish many likely children who are yet to come. Your friend here was very set against a public Commencement, thinking that the consequences would be rather bad as to rioting & wantonness, and that the *Præses pro tem.* would be no advantage to the performances. I am glad to be disappointed, and rejoice that my motion was overruled" (Belknap Papers, iii. 212–213).

[2] College Book, viii. 233. This petition has not been preserved.

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Students of the University; and that the specimens which are given of the acquirements made by the Candidates for Degrees in the various branches of useful learning are highly beneficial to the Commonwealth at large, by stimulating Parents to give to their Children an education which may qualify them to fill with reputation and honor the several offices in Church and State. The Corporation are nevertheless of opinion that the strictest œconomy ought to be observed in the public and private expences at the ensuing Commencement: . . .[1]

On April 11 John Quincy Adams, the most distinguished member of the class, wrote:

I went down this morning to the President to know the determination of the corporation with respect to a private Commencement, and was told that the petition of the class was rejected, because they supposed that if public Commencements were lain aside, there would be no stimulus to study among the scholars, and they are afraid that by granting our petition they might establish a precedent which the following classes would take advantage of, and claim as a right what we only requested as a favor. Another reason which Mr. Willard said had weight, although the gentlemen did not choose to avow it publicly, was the fear of offending the future Governor[2] by depriving him of that opportunity to show himself in splendor and magnificance.[3]

Undeterred by this rebuff, the Senior Sophisters apparently then appealed to the Overseers, for on May 1 "A petition from the Candidates for the first degree, praying that there may be a private commencement this year; as also several votes of the Corporation relative to Commencement were read; & it was Voted that the consideration of said petition & votes be referred to the adjournment of this meeting."[4] Accordingly, on May 11 "The petition for a private Commencement offered at the last meeting was again read. And after considerable debate, the question was put whether it be expedient that there should be a private commencement this year? And it was passed in the negative;"[5] and the votes of the Corporation about Commencement were concurred.

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[1] College Book, viii. 234–235.
[2] In May Hancock was re-elected Governor.
[3] Diary, in H. Adams's Historical Essays (1891), pp. 90–91.
[4] Overseers' Records, iii. 343.
[5] iii. 344.

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1802

On May 5, 1801, the Overseers —

Voted, that the Governor, Dr Bartlett, Dr Eckley, Dr Eliot, Dr Morse, Dr Thacher and Mr Kirkland [1] be a Committee to join a Committee of the Corporation and confer with the immediate governors of the College, to consider whether it be expedient to alter the time of Commencement, and of the vacations.[2]

On June 3, 1801, the Corporation —

Voted, that Judge Wendell, Judge Lowell, Dr Howard, Dr Lathrop and the Treasurer be a Committee,[3] to join a Committee of the Overseers to confer with the immediate Governors, to consider whether it be expedient to alter the time of Commencement and of the vacations.[4]

On September 22, 1801, the Corporation voted "that the President [5] Judge Lowell, and Mr Pearson [6] be a Committee to join a Committee of the Overseers to consider whether it be expedient to alter the time of Commencement and of the vacations." [7] On December 24, 1801, at a meeting of the Overseers, the "Report of a Committee appointed to consider whether it be expedient to alter the time of Commencement & of vacations was read; & the consideration of it referred to a future meeting." [8] At a meeting of the Corporation on March 2, 1802, —

The Report of the joint Committee of the Overseers and Corporation, appointed to consider whether it be expedient to alter the time of Commencement, and of the vacations, was read and accepted: Whereupon, voted,

1. That the Commencement be annually on the last Wednesday in August.[9]

The Overseers concurred in this vote on March 4, 1802.[10]

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[1] Gov. Caleb Strong (H.C. 1764), Dr. Josiah Bartlett (*d* 1820), Rev. Joseph Eckley, Rev. John Eliot (H.C. 1772), Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Rev. Peter Thacher (H.C. 1769), Rev. John Thornton Kirkland (H.C. 1789).

[2] Overseers' Records, iv. 326.

[3] Oliver Wendell (H.C. 1753), John Lowell (H.C. 1760), Rev. Simeon Howard (H.C. 1758), Rev. John Lathrop (*d* 1816), Ebenezer Storer (H.C. 1747).

[4] College Book, viii. 482.

[5] Rev. Joseph Willard.

[6] Rev. Eliphalet Pearson.

[7] College Book, viii. 486.

[8] Overseers' Records, iv. 341.

[9] College Book, viii. 490.

[10] Overseers' Records, iv. 345.

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Commencement Day was the last Wednesday in August from 1802 to 1848, both included; the third Wednesday in July from 1849 to 1868, both included; the last Tuesday in June in 1869 and 1870; the last Wednesday in June from 1871 to 1911, both included; and in 1912 became the Thursday before the last Wednesday in June.[1]

Since 1772, two Commencement programmes have been misdated. "The Order of the Exercises of Commencement" for 1808 is dated "AUGUST XXXI, MCCCVIII." — an obvious printer's error for MDCCCVIII. The programme for 1907 is dated "A · D · V · KAL · SEXT · A · S · CIↃDCCCCVII" — that is, July 28. Even if "SEXT" was a slip for "QVINCT," the date would still be wrong, for "A · D · V · KAL · QVINCT" is June 27, whereas in 1907 Commencement Day was actually June 26.

Though the chief purpose of these notes has been to ascertain the exact date of Commencement Day in each year, yet incidentally considerable light has been thrown on the customs of the past. It is now sometimes asserted that Commencement Day is still essentially what it was in the beginning. This view, however, will hardly stand the test of examination. For nearly two centuries it was the great gala day of the colony, the province, the state, and the commonwealth, and there flocked to Cambridge not merely the alumni but the populace. As regards the populace, a change became evident in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. An account of the day in 1832 said:

COMMENCEMENT. The celebration at Cambridge today, appears to have attracted less attention than ever. Not even a copy of the Exercises was sent to the printers, nor could one be procured in time for publication in the morning papers, as has been customary. At the Custom House and Banks it is a holiday, and some stores are closed;[2] but there has been none of the morning stir and bustle, and the mid-day stillness, which formerly prevailed in the city on this occasion, and one would

[1] For the reasons which brought about this change, see Harvard Graduates' Magazine, 1911, xx. 221–222, 250–254.

[2] "The usual exercises of Commencement at Harvard University will take place to-day, according to the programme already published. The Banks of this city and the Custom House will be closed" (Boston Courier, July 18, 1849, p. 2/1).

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hardly recollect that it was "Commencement Day," unless reminded of the circumstance by something more positive than mere observation.[1]

An account in 1849 reads:

COMMENCEMENT AT CAMBRIDGE. Yesterday the usual performances which mark the beginning of the academical year at Harvard University, were exhibited in the usual way. Commencement day used to be a "great time," but somehow or other it has become of late years much diminished in importance as a popular festival — whether from an increase in the number of colleges or a decrease in the public estimation of collegiate studies and honors, we will not undertake to say. Few people now a-days come a hundred miles to stare their eyes out on Cambridge common, where there is no more shaking of "props," [2] sucking of egg-nog. . . . The day was exceedingly pleasant, not too hot, though warm; but the attendance from abroad was unusually small. Two reasons may, perhaps, be assigned, in addition to what we have already suggested, — the alteration of the long established commencement day from the third Wednesday [3] in August, and the recent inauguration of President Sparks.[4]

The popular abatement of interest in the day appears from another aspect. On June 24, 1805, the Corporation voted "That Professor Pearson be requested to engage the assistance of the Sheriff of the County of Middlesex & two justices of the peace with a guard of 18 men Officers included to attend for the preservation of order at the next Commencement season." [5] How much later these elabo-

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[1] Boston Transcript, August 29, 1832, p. 2/1. The same paper June 27, 1871, said: "CAMBRIDGE COMMENCEMENT is not what it was, say chronic sympathizers with the past given to decrying the present, and wanting the prophetic eye of the future. . . . The metropolitan banks are not closed as of old and the day is no longer the distinguished holiday it once was; indeed in no sense is it a holiday at all, except in the social greetings of classmates of several generations of 'Sons'" (p. 2/1). I am indebted to Mr. Charles A. Ruggles of the Boston Clearing House for the information that "the last time the banks were closed on account of Commencement Day was in 1870." With regard to the Custom House, Mr. E. Perry writes me that "a great many of the old records were destroyed in a fire in 1894 and a search of such as are available has not disclosed any data bearing on the subject."

[2] For the game of props, see p. 61 note 1, above.

[3] An error for the last Wednesday in August.

[4] Boston Courier, July 19, 1849, p. 2/2.

[5] College Book, ix. 43.

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rate precautions were regarded as necessary, I have not attempted to ascertain; but what was a matter of course early in the nineteenth century had by 1877 become so unusual that when again resorted to complaints were heard. "A RUMOR has reached us," an editorial comment in the Crimson of July 3 stated, "that there is much indignation among the graduating class at the unwarrantable action of President Eliot in calling in the service of the police on Commencement night; that it was utterly unnecessary, and was a direct insult by degrading the class to the level of so many criminals." [1]

But though the Custom House and the Boston banks are no longer closed, though props cannot be shaken nor egg-nog sucked on Cambridge Common, though the genial but insidious influence of rum punch [2] no longer tends to enliven the day, though the Commencement dinner has disappeared,[3] and though the day has ceased to be a popular festival and is now wholly devoted to the alumni, yet these latter come not a hundred miles but thousands of miles to attend and the importance of the day to them ever grows rather than diminishes.

PERSONS PRESIDING AT COMMENCEMENT [4]

At most Commencements, the degrees have of course been conferred by the President or the Vice-President [5] for the time being. But there were vacancies in the presidency on the following Commencements: 1672, 1681, 1724, 1769, 1774, 1781, 1805, 1810, 1828,

[1] Crimson, viii. 109.

[2] Punch was prohibited in the spring of 1894: see Harvard Graduates' Magazine, iii. 79.

[3] The dinner was served for the last time in 1904: cf. p. 378, below. In 1845, as no doubt at every previous dinner, wine was served (cf. 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 247); but in 1846, the first under the presidency of Edward Everett, "The entertainment was conducted on the plan of total abstinence from all drinkables except water and lemonade" (Boston Advertiser, August 27, 1846, p. 2/2), and wine was never again reverted to.

[4] The 1910 Quinquennial contains a list of "Persons appointed to preside at Commencement during Vacancies in the President's Office" (p. 10 note); but only four years (1681, 1724, 1737, 1769) are given, and the statement about 1737 is incorrect.

[5] From the resignation of President Mather on September 6, 1701, to the inauguration of President Leverett on January 14, 1708, there was no President. But Samuel Willard was Vice-President from July 12, 1700, to August 14, 1707, and his name is on the Quaestiones for 1702–1705 and 1707, the sheet for 1706 not being extant.

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and 1862.[1] Besides vacancies in the presidency, there were various occasions when, owing to illness or to absence, the President did not preside: namely, in 1684, 1688–1691, 1798, 1827. Finally, on three occasions — in 1682, 1737, and 1869 — a newly-elected President chose not to preside at Commencement.[2]

In 1672 Urian Oakes presided.[3] The situation during the years 1675–1679 was somewhat peculiar. Leonard Hoar resigned the presidency on March 15, 1675. On April 7th —

> Mr Vrian Oakes was desired to give his Answer to a former motion of the Overseers to accept of the place of the President of the College pro tempore.
>
> In Answer wherto, he declared a deep sence of his unfitness for the work; yet considering the p^r^sent Exigency the Society was now in, & confiding in the Overseers seasonably to endeavo^r^ the settling a fitt p^r^son for y^t^ work, manifesting his willingness to accept of that place for a time God enabling by health & strength, & so far as his church consented.[4]

On September 27, 1675, Oakes was "elected Presid^t^ of Harvard Colledge & by the Overseers importuned to accept s^d^ place & trust."[5] On May 21, 1678, Oakes was "desired to continue his care ov^r^ the Colledge & to officiate in the place of President at the next Commencem^t^."[6] On February 2, 1680, he was again chosen President, accepted, was confirmed by the Overseers on February 9, and inaugurated on August 10.[7] His name appears on the Commencement programmes as "Uriano Oakes, . . . Præside pro tempore" in 1675, 1676, 1678, 1679, and as "Uriano Oakes, . . . Præside" in 1680. That he also presided in 1677 may be inferred from the fact that he delivered an oration in that year.[8]

On Oakes's death in July, 1681,[9] the Overseers, on July 26, —

[1] There was also a vacancy in 1774, but, as there was no public Commencement in that year, perhaps there were no exercises. The general diploma was signed by Nathaniel Appleton, John Winthrop, Andrew Eliot, Samuel Cooper, John Wadsworth, "Socii," and John Hancock, "Thesaurarius."

[2] President Holyoke was elected May 30, 1737, but was not inaugurated until September 28. President Eliot was elected and assumed office on May 19, 1869, but was not inaugurated until October 19. For President Rogers, see p. 371, below.

[3] See p. 325, above.

[4] College Book, iii. 67.

[5] iii. 68.

[6] iii. 70.

[7] i. 82, iii. 71, 72.

[8] See p. 327, above.

[9] The date of his death is given in College Book, iii. 72, and by Mather (Magnalia, bk. iv. p. 129) as July 25; but by Sewall (Diary, ii. 14*), by W. Adams

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Ordere'd, That the Governm^t^ of the day & work shalbe by the Fellows of the College, in manner following,

The Rev^d^ m^r^ John Sherman is requested to begin the Work of the day with prayer. And is impowered to give unto the Cōmencers their Degrees.

The Rev^d^ m^r^ Incr. Mather is requested to Moderate the Dispute of the Masters, and to conclude the work of the day with prayer.

m^r^ Daniel Gookin is desired to Moderate the Dispute of the Baccheloures and to be in all other respects assisting as there shalbe occasion.[1]

But Mr. Sherman's feebleness obliged the Overseers on July 28 to take the following action:

The Overseers being informed, that the Rev^d^ m^r^ John Sherman may not be capeable, through age, of attending the work of the Comencem^t^, they thereby impower the Rev^d^ m^r^ Jncrease Mather to carry on the work thereof & give the Commenc^r^s their degrees. And m^r^ Daniell Gookin jun^r^ is desired to be helpfull in moderating the disputes of the Batchel^r^s.[2]

In his manuscript Diary (owned by the American Antiquarian Society), under date of August 9, Increase Mather wrote: "At Cōmencement in Cambridge w^h^ God graciously assisted me in managing ye work w^h^ Hee called mee vnto;"[3] and his name appears on the Quaestiones as "Reverendo Crescentio Mathero, A.M. Apud Bostonienses V.D.M." Finally, on August 9, Cotton Mather wrote:

9 *d.* 6 *m.* This Day, I took my second Degree, proceeding *Master of Arts*.

My Father was *Præsident*, so that from his Hand I received my Degree.[4]

(4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 22), and by John Hull (Transactions and Collections American Antiquarian Society, iii. 249) as July 24. The Quaestiones for 1681 are surrounded by a black border.

[1] College Book, iii. 72.

[2] iii. 73.

[3] The following entries occur in Increase Mather's Diary under the dates of July 26, August 7, and August 8, 1681: "At mr. Oakes's Funeral. whe ov^r^seers of ye colledge, desired mee to modte ye mrs disputations on ye ensuing Cōmenct, but I did absolutely & peremptorily decline it, also to mr Gookin in private I manifested my resolution not to meddle in yt matter. . . . Rode to Cambridge, wh pryd; & visited Mr. Sherman. . . . Spent in preptions for ye Commencement."

[4] Diary, i. 26. In calling his father "President," Cotton Mather merely meant that he was the presiding officer. Increase Mather was elected Presi-

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On April 10, 1682, John Rogers was elected President, but was not inaugurated until August, 1683.[1] That Increase Mather presided in 1682 is made certain from his own statement, already quoted,[2] and from the fact that his name appears on the Quaestiones as "Reverendo Crescentio Mathero Apud Bostonienses V.D.M. Nec non Collegii Harvardini Curatore Vigilantissimo."

On July 1, 1684, the Overseers took the following action:

Whereas p a suddain visitation by Sickness the present President is disinabled from officiating in ye work of ye day, in carrying on ye Comencement; The Overseers of the Colledge, have nominated, appointed, & ordered the Reverend m^r^ William Hubberd to manage ye same, & do fully impower him to admitt to & conferr upon the Persons concerned their degrees belonging to them respectively.[3]

During the years 1688–1691 President Mather was in England. In 1688 Governor Andros at first invited the Rev. Samuel Lee of Bristol[4] to preside, but later appointed the Rev. William Hubbard. On July 2 John Richards wrote to Increase Mather: "The comencem^t^ is to be managed this yeare by Mr Wm Hubbard of Ipswich. The Govern^r^ sent to Mr Lee to do it, who likewise intended, but was not positive in his answer, & so Mr Hubbard is to manage it, hath been here about it."[5] And on July 6 Warham Mather wrote to Increase Mather: "One occasion of my being in your family at this present is the Commenc^mt^. It was at the usual time.[6] Mr Hubbard of Ip-

dent in 1681, the precise date not being recorded in College Book, i. 82, iii. 74. The choice was approved by the Overseers on September 8, 1681 (Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 109, 109 a).

[1] Noadiah Russell stated that Rogers came to Cambridge on May 23, 1683, and was inaugurated August 14 (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 59). On August 14 Increase Mather wrote in his manuscript Diary (owned by the American Antiquarian Society): "Rode to Cambridge w^he^ m^r^ Rogers was Installed p^r^sident Returned about sunset." But an entry (in the hand of Thomas Danforth) in College Book, iii. 84, reads: "Aug. 12. 1683. m^r^ John Rogers was solemnly inaugurated into the place of President."

[2] See p. 328, above.

[3] College Book, i. 93, iii. 85.

[4] Cf. Publications of this Society, xiv. 143–144.

[5] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 502.

[6] Warham Mather graduated in the class of 1685, in which year Commencement was for the first time held on the first Wednesday in July: yet, within three years, Warham Mather spoke of "the usual time."

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swich was appointed President over it. Mr Lee was sent to by his Excellency to undertake that office. The letter came not to hand till the Governor took his not answering him for a refusall. The enclosed will give an account of what was done therein."[1] The order appointing Hubbard is as follows:

Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, &c.

The Rev. Mr. WILLIAM HUBBARD . . . Greeting

WHEREAS the Presidency or Rectorship of Harvard College in Cambridge within this his majesty's territory and dominion of New England, is now vacant, I do therefore, with the advice of the council, by these presents, constitute, authorize and appoint you, the said William Hubbard, to exercise and officiate as President of said College at the next Commencement to be had for the same, in as full and ample manner as any former President or Rector hath or ought to have enjoyed.

Given under my hand and seal, at Boston, the 2d day of June, in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, annoque Domini, 1688.[2]

In 1689 William Brattle presided, his name alone being on both the Theses and the Quaestiones. On June 12, 1690, Sewall recorded that "After Lecture there is a Meeting of the Overseers of the Colledge: the Fellows are ap̄ointed to hold the Com̄encement"[3] — that is, John Leverett and William Brattle. The Theses for that year are not extant, and Leverett's name alone appears on the Quaestiones. In 1691 the names of both Leverett and Brattle appear on the Theses, the Quaestiones for that year not being extant.

On May 24, 1724, the Corporation voted "That the Two Senir Tutrs Mr Flynt & Mr Sever be desired to direct & order what is necessarily preparatory for the Exercises at Commencement. . . . That Mr Sever Moderate the Publick disputations of the Bachellrs in the Forenoon And Mr Flynt the Disputations of the Masters in the Afternoon and that the Said Tutrs give the degrees to those whose disputations they Moderate."[4]

On June 21, 1737, the Corporation voted "that Mr Henry Flynt & Mr Nathan Prince manage the publick affaires of the said day

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 671.

[2] 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 83. This order is interesting as being the only known one of the sort, the presiding officer on all other occasions having been appointed by the Corporation or the Overseers.

[3] Diary, i. 322.

[4] College Book, iv. 96.

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namely That Mr Prince Moderate the publick disputations of the Bachellours & give them their degrees in the forenoon and that Mr Flynt Moderate the disputations of the Masters and give them their degrees in the afternoon."[1] This vote, however, was on June 22 disallowed by the Overseers, who "declared it was not adviseable that there should be two persons to preside in the Solemnitys of that day;" and on June 23 the Corporation voted "that Mr Henry Flynt Preside in the publick Services of the next Commencemt and give degrees to the respective Candidates."[2]

It is unnecessary to give details as to later appointments, the information being derived from the Commencement programmes or the College archives or the Boston newspapers. Previous to 1672, the President for the time being, so far as is known, presided at each Commencement. The following list[3] gives the names of the persons who have presided, other than the Presidents or Vice-President, from 1672 to the present time:

1672 Urian Oakes
1675 Urian Oakes
1676 Urian Oakes
1677 Urian Oakes
1678 Urian Oakes
1679 Urian Oakes
1681 Increase Mather
1682 Increase Mather
1684 William Hubbard
1688 William Hubbard
1689 William Brattle
1690 John Leverett [and William Brattle]
1691 John Leverett and William Brattle
1724 Henry Flynt and Nicholas Sever
1737 Henry Flynt
1769 John Winthrop
1781 Edward Wigglesworth
1798 Simeon Howard
1805 Eliphalet Pearson
1810 Henry Ware
1827 Henry Ware
1828 Henry Ware
1862 Andrew Preston Peabody
1869 Andrew Preston Peabody
1887 Martin Brimmer

Places where the Exercises have been held

The original building, a wooden structure called Harvard College, was begun by Nathaniel Eaton in or before 1639 and completed by Henry Dunster about 1643. The precise date of its first occupation is not known, but in a letter written in December, 1653, Dunster said: "Thus fell ye work upon mee. 3d 8ber 1641: wch by ye Lords assistance was so far furthered yt ye students dispersed in ye town & miserably distracted in their times of concourse came into cõmons into

[1] College Book, iv. 198.
[2] iv. 198.
[3] It is possible that there may be some omissions in this list.

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one house 7ber 1642. & wth ym a 3d burthen upon my shoulders, to bee their steward, & to Direct their brewer, baker, buttler, Cook, how to pportion their cõmons."[1] The building was described in 1643 as an "Edifice . . . very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures) Exercises, and a large Library with some Books to it."[2] The Hall was apparently finished, except the interior, before Dunster undertook the completion of the building.

That the Commencement dinner was served in the Hall in 1642 is proved by Winthrop's statement that those present "dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons."[3] But there is some uncertainty as to exactly where the degrees were conferred in the early years. In a paper on "Harvard College and the First Church," written in 1890, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart declared that "The first Commencement of Harvard College, in 1642, was held in the first edifice of this church."[4] And on October 12, 1676, Edward Randolph, who had reached Boston on the previous 10th of June, wrote: "new-colledge, built at the publick charge, is a fair pile of brick building covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian warre not yet finished. It contains 20 chambers for students, two in a chamber; a large hall, which serves for a chappel; over that a convenient library, with some few bookes of the ancient fathers and school divines, . . . Their commencement, kept yearly the 2d of August, in the meeting-house, where the governor and magistrates are present, attended with throngs of illiterate elders and church members, who are entertained with English speeches and verses."[5] But Mr. Hart gives no authority, while Randolph's error as to the date of Com-

[1] Publications of this Society, iii. 420.

[2] New Englands First Fruits, p. 12.

[3] See p. 321, above. By "the college," Winthrop unquestionably meant the first Harvard College. Previous to 1718, every building was called a "college;" in 1718 the word "hall" was introduced; from 1718 to 1781, when the original Stoughton College was taken down, the words "college" and "hall" were employed indifferently; after 1781, "college" disappeared as an official designation, though remaining in colloquial use. See Dialect Notes, ii. 91–114.

[4] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 403. An earlier writer had also stated that "In this house," that is, in the first meeting-house, "in 1642 were held the first College commencement exercises" (Harvard Register, 1881, iii. 81).

[5] T. Hutchinson, Collection of Original Papers (1769), p. 501.

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mencement — which at that time was not the second of August,[1] but the second Tuesday in August — renders his statement as to the place not above suspicion.[2] On the other hand, there is some evidence that the exercises were held in the College Hall. Thus Samuel Whiting's oration in 1649 was delivered "in aula scilicet Harvardina;"[3] and Nathaniel Rogers's oration in 1652 was delivered "in Aulâ Scil. Harvardinâ."[4] It is of course possible that these orations were spoken at the dinner, but it seems more reasonable to assume that they were delivered when the degrees were conferred.

The first Harvard College soon fell into decay and was taken down about 1680, another building of brick, Randolph's "new-colledge," also called Harvard College, having been built several years before. On August 7, 1674, Sewall recorded, "New Colledge raised. John Francis helping about raising of the new Colledge had his right legg (both bones) broke a little above his ankle;"[5] on "26. 12. 75." (February 26, 1676), "It is ordered by the councill that the stewards for the new brick colledge doe forth with finish up ye place appoynted for the coll: library, that so they may be imediately secured therein;"[6] on August 31, 1676, Daniel Gookin was paid fifty shillings "in Satisfaction for his paines in removing the library to the new Colledge & placeing them;"[7] and, according to Hubbard, who wrote about 1680, "in the year 1677, a fair and stately edifice of brick was erected anew, not far from the place where the former stood, and so far finished that the public acts of the Commencement

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[1] It will perhaps be thought that Randolph wrote not "the 2d of August," but "the 2d Tuesday of August." His narrative is no longer in the Massachusetts Archives, where presumably it was in Hutchinson's day. No doubt the original is in the Public Record Office, London, and this reads: "their commencement is kept yearly on August 2nd in the meeting-house at Cambridge" (Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1675–1676, p. 467).

[2] Owing to the ruinous condition of the first Harvard College and the unfinished state of the second Harvard College, it is quite possible that in 1676 the exercises were held in the meeting-house; but if so, that fact does not affect previous Commencements.

[3] See p. 323, above.

[4] See p. 326 note 1, above.

[5] Diary, i. 15. This was the building burned in 1764.

[6] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 92.

[7] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 340.

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were there performed."[1] Finally, Urian Oakes was inaugurated President "in the College-Hall on the Coñencm^t day. August 1680."[2] Whatever conclusion is to be drawn from this conflicting evidence, not long after this the degrees were conferred in the meeting-house of the First Church. Writing on July 6, 1687, Sewall said: "Waited on his Excellency to Cambridge. Eleven Bachelors and Seven Masters proceeded. Mr. Mather, President, Pray'd forenoon and afternoon. Mr. Ratcliff sat in the Pulpit by the Governor's direction. Mr. Mather crav'd a Blessing and return'd Thanks in the Hall."[3] Robert Ratcliffe was the newly arrived Episcopal clergyman, and Andros's insistence upon his sitting "in the Pulpit" seems to indicate that the exercises must have been held in the meeting-house. However that may be, it is certain that the exercises were held there in 1704, for on July 5 of that year Sewall wrote: "Goe to Cambridge with Mr. Thos. Brattle in Stedman's Calash. Spent the forenoon in the Meetinghouse."[4] And there — or rather in the

[1] General History of New England, p. 610. Though not printed until 1815, on June 11, 1680, a committee was appointed "to pervse the same, & make returne of their opinion thereof to the next session, that the Court may then, as they shall then judge meet, take order for the impression thereof;" and on October 11, 1682, the Court made a grant of £50 to Hubbard, he transcribing his history "fairely into a booke, that it may be the more easely pervsed" (Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 279, 378).

[2] See p. 314 note 3, above.

[3] Diary, ii. 181.

[4] Diary, ii. 111. On July 2, 1707, Sewall wrote: "Coñencement Day is fair and pleasant. . . . Got Joseph a Table, and Bread, which he wanted before. Went into the Meetinghouse about 11. . . . My Son held the first Question in the Afternoon; . . . My Son was the first that had a Degree given him in the New Meetinghouse" (ii. 190).

On July 5, 1704, Sewall went on to say: "Waited on the Govr from Dinner Time till the last Question: Then follow'd the Govr in. Mr. Gibbs was holding the last Question. Dr. Dum̃er rose up and in very fluent good Latin ask'd Leave, and made an op̃osition; and then took Leave again with Com̃endation of the Respondent" (Diary, ii. 111). Probably it was unusual for those not candidates to take part in the exercises, as Jeremiah Dummer (H.C. 1699; Ph.D. Utrecht 1703) did on the above occasion; but two years earlier a more noted person was moved to do so and was prevented only by lack of time. Having recently renounced Quakerism George Keith came to New England as an Anglican missionary, arriving in the same vessel with Governor Dudley and Lieutenant-Governor Povey, as stated in his Journal of Travels (1706, pp. 1–5). The story of his appearance at Commencement is more fully told in a letter to Lewis Morris dated July 27, 1702: "I prevailed with Mr. Keith to stay here til our commenc^nt was over, where the good man met with very little university Breeding, and with less learning,

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successive meeting-houses[1] of the First Church — the degrees were conferred down to and including 1833. In 1829 there was a division of the First Church into the First Church (Congregational) and the First Church (Unitarian).[2] The former built a new meeting-house, while the latter retained possession of the old meeting-house; and in the old meeting-house the exercises were held in 1829–1833. In 1834 the First Church (Unitarian) built a new meeting-house, and in it the degrees were conferred from 1834 to 1872, both included. In 1873–1875 the exercises were held in Appleton Chapel; and from 1876 to 1915, both included, they were held in Sanders Theatre. This year the exercises will, for the first time, be held in the Stadium, "if the weather permits."[3] In 1911 the exercises of the Harvard Alumni Association were transferred from Memorial Hall to the Sever Quadrangle.[4]

The Commencement dinner was doubtless served in the first Harvard College from 1642 to 1676; in the second Harvard College from 1677 to 1763; in the present Harvard Hall from 1765 to 1813; in University Hall from 1814 to 1841; in Harvard Hall from 1842 to 1870;

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the last Thesis disputed by the masters was, *Immutabilitas Decreti divini non tollit Libertatem creature.*" This met with Mr. Keith's hearty disapproval, as did also two propositions which "the opponents urged, and both the President Mr. Willard, and the Respondent assented to: . . . and their manner of urging hereupon did clearly evince their opinion to be that the bad as good actions of men were necessarily determined; the day being far spent was the main reason why Mr Keith did not publickly oppose them, but when he returned to Boston he drew up in Latin an answer to the President's arguing of a full sheet of Paper wh[h] he transcribed ready to be sent to M[r]. President upon M[r]. Keith's return" (W. S. Perry, Historical Collections relating to the American Church, iii. 72). Thereupon a pamphlet war took place between Willard and Keith.

[1] Previous to 1833, the First Church had no fewer than four meeting-houses. The first (1632–1650) was in Dunster Street; the second (1650–1706) was on watch-house hill; the third (1706–1756) was on or near the site occupied by the second; and the fourth (1756–1833) was also on or near the same site, within the present College Yard, near Dane Hall. In 1833 the fourth house was removed, the land on which it stood was sold to Harvard College, and the First Church (Unitarian) erected a new meeting-house in Harvard Square, at the corner of Church Street, opposite Massachusetts Hall. (Paige, History of Cambridge, pp. 246 note, 259, 259 note, 287, 293, 304.)

[2] See Paige, History of Cambridge, pp. 299–302. The First Church (Congregational) was in 1829 incorporated as the Shepard Congregational Society.

[3] Harvard Alumni Bulletin, May 3, 1916, xviii. 574–575.

[4] Harvard Graduates' Magazine, xx. 75, 254.

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in Massachusetts Hall from 1871 to 1873; and in Memorial Hall from 1874 to 1904.[1] Since 1904 there has been no Commencement dinner.[2]

LIST OF COMMENCEMENT DAYS
1642–1916

ABBREVIATIONS

C = Corporation Records
E = Order of the Exercises (1791–1810)
EI = Essex Institute Historical Collections
L = President Leverett's Diary
MC = Massachusetts Historical Collections
MP = Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society
O = Overseers' Records
Q = Quaestiones (1645–1791) [3]
R = New England Historical and Genealogical Register
S = Sibley's Harvard Graduates
T = Theses (1642–1810) [3]
Tr = Triennial Catalogues (1682–1715)
W = President Wadsworth's Diary
Dates printed in italics are conjectural

YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1642 [4]				See p. 317
1643	Oct. [5]			T See p. 321
1644 [6]				See p. 322
1645				See p. 322
1646	July	28	Tu	T
1647	July	27	Tu	T
1648	*July*	*25*	Tu	
1649	July	31	Tu	See p. 322

[1] The statements in this sentence are believed to be correct. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the dinner was, for special reasons, sometimes omitted. For its omission in 1905 and subsequently, see Harvard Graduates' Magazine, xiii. 72, 627, 764, xiv. 44. Memorial Hall was dedicated on June 23, 1874, the day before Commencement.

[2] In the eighteenth century, bad commons provoked several rebellions. But the Commencement dinner by no means escaped criticism, and complaints were of long standing before it was abolished. Thus the Boston Post of July 18, 1850, said:

The College Dinner. — It is said that the college dinner at Cambridge yesterday partook largely of the character of an "indignation meeting." A "come-outer" states that some of the poultry was very *lively*, and in the course of the muss escaped out of the windows (p. 2/3).

[3] An italic *Q* or *T* indicates that the Quaestiones or Theses for that year are extant, but unavailable as evidence owing to errors in date (1723, 1768, 1772: see pp. 332, 351, 352, above) or because not fully dated (see pp. 312, 313, above). All extant Quaestiones and Theses are in the Harvard College Library — chiefly originals, but a few in facsimile. The list printed by Mr. Lane in his Early Harvard Broadsides shows what libraries own original programmes.

[4] Before September 26. [5] Day of month not known. [6] No Commencement.

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1650	July	30	Tu	S[1]
1651	Aug.	12	Tu	See p. 324
1652	*Aug.*	*10*	Tu	
1653	Aug.	9	Tu	Q T
1653	Aug.	10	W	T
1654	Aug.	8	Tu	See p. 325
1655	Aug.	14	Tu	Q
1656	Aug.	12	Tu	Q
1657	*Aug.*	*11*	Tu	
1658	Aug.	10	Tu	Q
1659	Aug.	9	Tu	Q
1660	Aug.	14	Tu	Q
1661	*Aug.*	*13*	Tu	
1662	*Aug.*	*12*	Tu	
1663	Aug.	11	Tu	Q
1664	Aug.	9	Tu	Q
1665	Aug.	8	Tu	Q
1666	Aug.	14	Tu	Q
1667	Aug.	13	Tu	MC[2]
1668	Aug.	11	Tu	Q
1669	Aug.	10	Tu	Q
1670	Aug.	9	Tu	T
1671	Aug.	8	Tu	MC[3]
1672	Aug.	13	Tu	MC[4]
1673	*Aug.*	*12*	Tu	
1674	Aug.	11	Tu	Q
1675	Aug.	10	Tu	MC[5] MP[6] Q
1676	Aug.	8	Tu	MP[7] Q
1677	Aug.	14	Tu	See p. 327
1678	Aug.	13	Tu	Q T
1679	Aug.	12	Tu	Q
1680	Aug.	10	Tu	Q
1681	Aug.	9	Tu	MC[8] Q
1682	Aug.	8	Tu	Q Tr
1683	Sept.	12	W	See p. 328
1684	July	1	Tu	C Q
1685	July	1	W.	MC[9] R[10]
1686	July	7	W.	Q
1687	July	6	W.	MC[11] Q *T*
1688	July	4	W.	MC[12] Q R[13]

[1] i. 548.
[2] 4 Series, i. 8 (W. Adams).
[3] 4 Series, i. 13 (W. Adams).
[4] 4 Series, i. 17 (W. Adams).
[5] 4 Series, i. 21 (W. Adams).
[6] 2 Series, xiii. 250 (I. Mather).
[7] 2 Series, xiii. 369 (I. Mather).
[8] 7 Series, vii. 26 (C. Mather).
[9] 5 Series, v. 85 (S. Sewall).
[10] xiii. 255 (J. Pierpont).
[11] 5 Series, v. 181 (S. Sewall).
[12] 5 Series, v. 219 (S. Sewall).
[13] xiii. 256 (J. Pierpont).

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1689	Sept.	11	W.	Q *T*
1690	July	2	W.	Q MC[1]
1691	July	1	W.	T
1692	July	6	W.	Q
1693	July	5	W.	MC[2] Q R[3] T
1694	July	4	W.	MC[4] Q
1695	July	3	W.	Q
1696	July	1	W.	Q R[5]
1697	July	7	W.	MC[6] Q
1698	July	6	W.	Q
1699	July	5	W.	Q
1700	July	3	W.	Q Tr
1701	July	2	W.	MC[7] Q
1702	July	1	W.	Q
1703	July	7	W.	MC[8] Q
1704	July	5	W.	MC[9] Q
1705	July	4	W.	MC[10] Q
1706	July	3	W.	EI[11]
1707	July	2	W.	MC[12] Q
1708	July	7	W.	MC[13] Q T
1709	July	6	W.	Q
1710	July	5	W.	MC[14] Q
1711	July	4	W.	C L MC[15] Q T
1712	July	2	W.	MC[16] Q
1713	July	1	W.	MC[17] Q
1714	July	7	W.	L MC[18] Q
1715	Aug.	31	W.	L Q Tr
1716	July	4	W.	L MC[19] Q
1717	July	3	W.	MC[20] Q T
1718	July	2	W.	MC[21] Q
1719	July	1	W.	MC[22] Q T
1720	July	6	W.	L MC[23] Q T
1721	June	28	W.	L *T*

[1] 5 Series, v. 323–324 (S. Sewall).
[2] 7 Series, vii. 166 (C. Mather).
[3] xx. 157 (J. Baxter).
[4] 5 Series, v. 390 (S. Sewall).
[5] xx. 157 (J. Baxter).
[6] 5 Series, v. 456 (S. Sewall).
[7] 5 Series, vi. 37–38 (S. Sewall).
[8] 5 Series, vi. 81 (S. Sewall).
[9] 5 Series, vi. 111–112 (S. Sewall).
[10] 5 Series, vi. 133 (S. Sewall).
[11] "July 3. I carried my mother to Charlestown, and then to Commencement" (Diary of Rev. Joseph Green, H.C. 1695, in Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. x. pt. i. p. 74).
[12] 5 Series, vi. 190 (S. Sewall).
[13] 5 Series, vi. 227 (S. Sewall).
[14] 5 Series, vi. 282 (S. Sewall).
[15] 5 Series, vi. 318 (S. Sewall).
[16] 5 Series, vi. 354 (S. Sewall).
[17] 5 Series, vi. 390 (S. Sewall).
[18] 5 Series, vii. 8–9 (S. Sewall).
[19] 5 Series, vii. 90 (S. Sewall).
[20] 5 Series, vii. 134 (S. Sewall).
[21] 5 Series, vii. 187 (S. Sewall).
[22] 5 Series, vii. 222 (S. Sewall).
[23] 5 Series, vii. 258 (S. Sewall).

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1722	July	4	W.	O *Q* T
1723	July	3	W.	O *Q* *T* See p. 332
1724	July	1	W.	Q R[1]
1725	July	7	W.	O Q T W
1726	July	6	W.	C MC[2] Q T W
1727	June	30	F.	C *Q* *T* W
1728	June	28	F.	C O Q W
1729	June	27	F.	Q W
1730	June	24	W.	*Q* *T* W
1731	June	25	F.	C O *Q* *T* W
1732	June	23	F.	C O *Q* *T* W
1733	June	29	F.	*Q* *T* W
1734	July	5	F.	C *Q* *T* W
1735	July	4	F.	O *Q* *T* W
1736	July	7	W.	C O *Q* W
1737	July	6	W.	O *Q* *T*
1738	July	5	W.	C O *Q* *T*
1739	July	4	W.	O *Q* *T*
1740	Aug.	27	W.	O Q T
1741	July	1	W.	C O *Q* T
1742	July	7	W.	C O Q T
1743	July	6	W.	C O Q T
1744	July	4	W.	C O Q T
1745	July	3	W.	C O Q T
1746	July	2	W.	C O Q T
1747	July	1	W.	C O Q T
1748	July	6	W.	C Q T
1749	June	30	F.	C O Q T
1750	July	4	W.	C Q T
1751	July	3	W.	C O Q T
1752	July	1[3]	W.	See p. 344
1753	July	18	W.	O Q T
1754	July	17	W.	C O Q T
1755	July	16	W.	C O Q T
1756	July	14	W.	C O Q T
1757	July	13[4]	W.	See p. 346
1758	July	19	W.	C O Q T
1759	July	18	W.	O Q T
1760	July	16	W.	O Q T
1761	July	15	W.	C O Q T[5]

[1] xv. 202 (J. Bumstead).

[2] 5 Series, vii. 378 (S. Sewall). Only official documents are cited after this date.

[3] No public Commencement, but the general diploma is dated July 1.

[4] No public Commencement, but the general diploma is dated July 13.

[5] The year-date on the Theses for 1761 is misprinted 1741: see p. 312 note 4, above.

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1762	July	21	W.	C O Q T
1763	July	20	W.	C O Q T
1764	July	18[1]	W.	See p. 349
1765	July	17	W.	C O Q T
1766	July	16	W.	C O Q T
1767	July	15	W.	C O Q T
1768	July	20	W.	O Q *T*
1769	July	19	W.	C Q T
1770	July	18	W.	C O Q T
1771	July	17	W.	C O Q T
1772	July	15	W.	Q *T* See p. 352
1773	July	21	W.	C Q T
1774	July	20[2]	W.	See p. 352
1775	Oct.	3	Tu	See p. 353
1776	Aug.	14	W.	T See p. 354
1777	July	16	W.	T See p. 355
1778	July	15	W.	T See p. 355
1779	July	21[2]	W.	T See p. 356
1780	July	19[3]	W.	T See p. 358
1781	July	18	W.	C O Q T
1782	July	17	W.	C O T
1783	July	16	W.	C O T
1784	July	21	W.	C O Q T
1785	July	20	W.	C O Q T
1786	July	19	W.	C O Q T
1787	July	18	W.	C O Q T
1788	July	16	W.	C O Q T
1789	July	15	W.	C O Q T
1790	July	21	W.	C O Q T
1791	July	20	W.	C E[4] O Q[5] T
1792	July	18	W.	C E O T
1793	July	17	W.	C E O T
1794	July	16	W.	C E O T
1795	July	15	W.	C E O T
1796	July	20	W.	C E O T
1797	July	19	W.	C E O T
1798	July	18	W.	C E O T
1799	July	17	W.	C E O T
1800	July	16	W.	C E O T

[1] No public Commencement, but the general diploma is dated July 18.

[2] No public Commencements from 1774 to 1779, both included, but the general diplomas are dated as given in the text.

[3] No public Commencement. The degrees were granted July 19, but the general diploma is dated July 22: see pp. 359–360, above.

[4] The Order of the Exercises of Commencement was printed as a broadside from 1791 to 1810, both included.

[5] The Quaestiones were not printed after 1791.

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK	AUTHORITY
1801	July	15	W.	C E O T
1802	Aug.	25	W.	C E O T
1803	Aug.	31	W.	C E O T
1804	Aug.	29	W.	C E O T
1805	Aug.	28	W.	C E O T
1806	Aug.	27	W.	C E O T
1807	Aug.	26	W.	C E O T
1808	Aug.	31	W.	C E O[1] T
1809	Aug.	30	W.	C E O T
1810	Aug.	29	W.	C E O T[2]

YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK
1811	Aug.	28	W
1812	Aug.	26	W
1813	Aug.	25	W
1814	Aug.	31	W
1815	Aug.	30	W
1816	Aug.	28	W
1817	Aug.	27	W
1818	Aug.	26	W
1819	Aug.	25	W
1820	Aug.	30	W
1821	Aug.	29	W
1822	Aug.	28	W
1823	Aug.	27	W
1824	Aug.	25	W
1825	Aug.	31	W
1826	Aug.	30	W
1827	Aug.	29	W
1828	Aug.	27	W
1829	Aug.	26	W
1830	Aug.	25	W
1831	Aug.	31	W
1832	Aug.	29	W
1833	Aug.	28	W
1834	Aug.	27	W
1835	Aug.	26	W
1836	Aug.	31	W
1837	Aug.	30	W
1838	Aug.	29	W
1839	Aug.	28	W

YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK
1840	Aug.	26	W
1841	Aug.	25	W
1842	Aug.	24	W
1843	Aug.	23	W
1844	Aug.	28	W
1845	Aug.	27	W
1846	Aug.	26	W
1847	Aug.	25	W
1848	Aug.	23	W
1849	July	18	W
1850	July	17	W
1851	July	16	W
1852	July	21	W
1853	July	20	W
1854	July	19	W
1855	July	18	W
1856	July	16	W
1857	July	15	W
1858	July	21	W
1859	July	20	W
1860	July	18	W
1861	July	17	W
1862	July	16	W
1863	July	15	W
1864	July	20	W
1865	July	19	W
1866	July	18	W
1867	July	17	W
1868	July	15	W

[1] The year-date on the Order of the Exercises for 1808 is misprinted 1308: see p. 366, above.

[2] The Order of the Exercises of Commencement and the Theses were printed as broadsides for the last time in 1810. After 1810 the dates have been obtained from the Commencement programmes and Boston newspapers.

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YEAR	MONTH	DAY OF MONTH	DAY OF WEEK
1869	June	29	Tu
1870	June	28	Tu
1871	June	28	W
1872	June	26	W
1873	June	25	W
1874	June	24	W
1875	June	30	W
1876	June	28	W
1877	June	27	W
1878	June	26	W
1879	June	25	W
1880	June	30	W
1881	June	29	W
1882	June	28	W
1883	June	27	W
1884	June	25	W
1885	June	24	W
1886	June	30	W
1887	June	29	W
1888	June	27	W
1889	June	26	W
1890	June	25	W
1891	June	24	W
1892	June	29	W
1893	June	28	W
1894	June	27	W
1895	June	26	W
1896	June	24	W
1897	June	30	W
1898	June	29	W
1899	June	28	W
1900	June	27	W
1901	June	26	W
1902	June	25	W
1903	June	24	W
1904	June	29	W
1905	June	28	W
1906	June	27	W
1907	June	26 [1]	W
1908	June	24	W
1909	June	30	W
1910	June	29	W
1911	June	28	W
1912	June	20	Th
1913	June	19	Th
1914	June	18	Th
1915	June	24	Th
1916	June	22	Th

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE exhibited a letter of Cotton Mather, dated 1 May, 1724, which had evidently been sent with a copy of his Parentator to the Principal[2] of the Uni-

[1] The Commencement programme is wrongly dated: see p. 366, above.

From 1642 to 1916, both included, is a period of 275 years. There was no Commencement in 1644 (see p. 322, above), but there were two Commencements in 1653 (see p. 324, above): consequently the number of Commencement Days exactly corresponds with the number of years that have elapsed since 1642. According to months, Commencement has occurred as follows:

June:	1721, 1727–1733, 1749, 1869–1916	57
July:	1646–1650, 1684–1688, 1690–1714, 1716–1720, 1722–1726, 1734–1739, 1741–1748, 1750–1774, 1777–1801, 1849–1868	129
August:	1651–1682, 1715, 1740, 1776, 1802–1848	83
September:	1683, 1689	2
October:	1643 (day unknown), 1775	2
Unknown:	1642 (probably September), 1645	2
		275

[2] The Principal from October, 1701, to September, 1727, was John Stirling (Innes, Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis, vol. i. p. xci).

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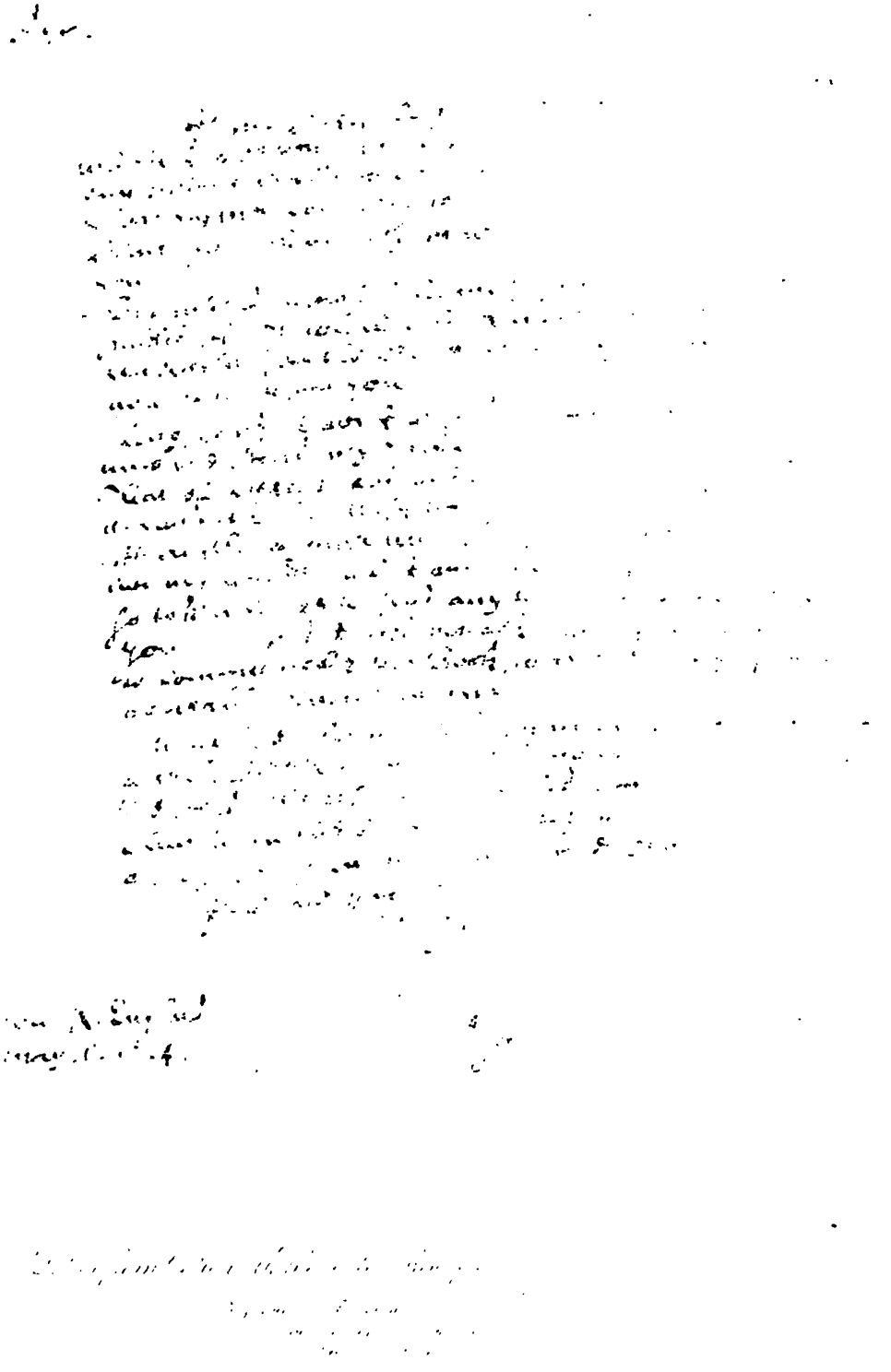

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Sir.

If my Letters bore any proportion to the Regards which I owe you, or, if my poor Country could afford any matters worthy to come into Letters to a person of your Superior Consideration; They would be of Larger Dimensions than those in which they now appear before you.

But instead thereof, I humbly pray you to accept the public Address, which I have made unto your Illustrious University, in the Dedication of my Parentator, which now waits upon you.

Long, Long, have I wished for an Opportunity, to testify unto the World, my Esteem for a Church, which has That of CHRIST and of TRUTH in it, which must endear it unto all that Wish well to the Kingdome of God. At Length a most unwish'd for opportunity, is fallen into my hands; and I am a very Happy Man, if I have so taken it, as to find any tolerable Acceptance with you. And I need not ask, that you would please to communicate the Book, where it may give any agreeable Entertainment.

May the Glorious Lord continue you many days a rich Blessing unto the Renoumed University, at the Head whereof he has placed you; and unto the Church, in the Service whereof He has made you a most Conspicuous Instrument & Ornament.

It is the prayer of,

Sir,

Boston, N. England.
May 1. 1724.

Your most affectionate Friend,
& Obedient Servant.

Cotton Mather.

Letter from Cotton Mather to the Principal of the University of Glasgow

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of
Ambrose Cramer, Esquire

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versity of Glasgow, to which the volume is dedicated. The letter is laid in a fine copy of the book, apparently the very copy which it originally accompanied. Both letter and volume belong to Mr. Ambrose Cramer, of Chicago, by whose kind permission a facsimile is given.[1]

Syr.

If my Letters bore any Proportion to the Regards which I owe you, or, if my Poor Countrey could afford any matters worthy to come into Letters to a Person of your Superior Consideration; They would be of Larger Dimensions than those in which they now appear before you.

But instead thereof, I humbly pray you to accept the Public Address, which I have made unto your Illustrious University, in the Dedication of my PARENTATOR, which now waits upon you.

Long, Long, have I wished for an Opportunity, to testify unto the World, my Esteem for a Church, which ha's That of CHRIST and of TRUTH in it, which must endear it unto all that wish well to the Kingdome of God. At length a most unwish'd for Opportunity, is fallen into my hands; and I am a very Happy Man, if I have so taken it, as to find any tolerable Acceptance with you. And I need not ask, that you would please to communicate the Book, where it may give any agreeable Entertainment.

May the Glorious Lord continue you many days a rich Blessing unto the Renoumed University, at the Head whereof he has placed you; and unto the Church, in the Service whereof He has made you a most Conspicuous Instrument & Ornament.

It is the Prayer of,

S^r^,

Your most affectionate Friend,
& Obedient Servant,
Cotton Mather.

Boston, N. England,
May. 1. 1724.

Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS communicated a list of historical and quasi-historical societies organized in Massachusetts 1901–1915, speaking as follows:

At the first meeting of this Society, on request of Dr. Gould, I prepared a paper, the subject of which, selected by myself, was His-

[1] The volume contains the label "BRINLEY. 1189:" (see Brinley Catalogue, i. 161).

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torical Work in Massachusetts.[1] In this paper I sought to describe the purposes of the several historical societies which were in existence at that time, or which had for a time existed in the past and had then ceased their work, leaving some traces of a transient life upon the records of the Commonwealth. At the outset it became important to define what an historical society was. Not all societies which bear the name "historical" in their titles are necessarily to be included in the list of those which we may wish especially to consider, and not all the societies which we wish to consider bear in their titles any words which in themselves would indicate that it was imperative under the circumstances that they should be included. On the one hand there have been incorporated societies which bear the word "historical" in their titles, but which limit or transfer their field of work in such a way as to exclude the consideration of our local history, while on the other hand there are many societies which have no such distinguishing mark in their titles, but which we should be compelled to classify as historical societies, of which our own is a conspicuous example.

There are many examples of organizations which include within their purposes functions that we should unhesitatingly qualify as historical in their character, but which in most instances we should not expect to find classified as historical societies. Instances of this sort are to be found in museums which collect historical material, memorial organizations which preserve specific historical relics, and public libraries which offer their vaults and shelves as places of deposit for manuscripts, pamphlets, and books of historical interest.

There are many social organizations which introduce the words historical, or antiquarian, or both in their purposes. In some of these the presence of such a purpose seems incongruous and utterly extraneous to the real intentions of the incorporators. Yet there the word stands, indicating that a society whose fundamental purpose is the cultivation of social friendship also claims to have historical work within its purview, but with no special suggestion as to the methods by which historical purposes are to be cultivated or historical work fostered.

There are Massachusetts societies which claim that they propose to promote the study of the history of certain foreign countries,

[1] Publications, i. 21–71.

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others which restrain their proposed historical work to specific States other than Massachusetts, while still others confine their purposes to encouraging historical work in connection with towns located in other States.

Certain organizations limit their field of work to topical work, historical in designation, but obviously to be classified as literary in character — Biblical history for instance.

Now in the submission of the list of societies included in the paper on Historical Work in Massachusetts, it became necessary to draw the line somewhere between those that were to be considered for the purposes of the paper as historical societies and those that were not to be regarded as fully entitled to the name, even though some of their purposes were in close affiliation. It seemed to be impossible to ignore many of this latter class. The scheme resorted to was to place full-fledged historical societies in the text, and to relegate to notes such organizations as merely introduced for some unknown purpose the word historical in their functions, as well as those which limited their historical work to that of collecting material or in some other way made it clear that such work was in their case of a secondary character.

The number of societies given in the text of that article was fifty-one. Two historical societies, the Bedford and the Wakefield, formed after the paper was read, were, unfortunately for the logical carrying out of the intention to separate the societies into positions in the text and in the notes according to their character, assigned to positions in the notes, it being too late to get them in the text. Besides these, twenty-five societies which were of a quasi-historical character, or were no longer in existence, were described in the notes.

The suggestion naturally arose after the grouping together of the names of these societies in the index of Volume I that it would be a good thing to continue the list of incorporations from year to year, thus securing for each incorporated society a place in our indexes. Societies of this sort can be run down at the office of the Commissioner of Corporations, or in the volumes containing the annual Acts and Resolves. There is no place, however, to which we can turn to discover unincorporated societies. If it came to be understood that there was one publication to which a student could turn to find in-

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formation about Massachusetts historical societies, then it would probably be the case that unincorporated societies would voluntarily report to the editor of the publication, and the list would with time become more and more accurate. With this purpose in view, reports of newly organized historical societies were made from time to time at meetings of the Society [1] and the names of such societies found their way into our indexes. Unfortunately for the carrying out of this scheme, certain delays in issuing our publications interfered with the reports of incorporations, there being no method at hand of protection against duplication, and since 1901 no such reports have been made. The publication of our Transactions now follows so closely upon our meetings that this difficulty no longer exists. This report, which covers the gap from 1901 to the present time, is made up in a general way upon the same plan. Unfortunately there will always be some societies, the exact position of which in these classifications will not be easy to define. Some would put them in one class, some in another. Indeed, it may be said that no person could offhand make a distribution of these societies into the classes suggested, which he would not, under different circumstances and other influences, alter; but whether the classification be accepted or not, at any rate an attempt has been made to give the name and the general purposes of all societies in Massachusetts having directly or indirectly historical purposes, and any person making use of the list can arrange them as he pleases.

I

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES [2]

UNITARIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY [3]

Purposes: "To collect and preserve books, manuscripts, periodicals, pamphlets, pictures, and memorabilia, which describe and illustrate the history of the Unitarian movement, and to stimulate an interest in the writing and preserving of the records of Unitarian Churches."

Organized: February 18, 1901.

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[1] Publications, i. 157–158, 182–183, 266, 266–268, 386; iii. 1–2, 243–246, 404–405, 471–474; v. 55–56, 318–319; vi. 212–213, 454–455; vii. 228–230.

[2] The location of each society, if not indicated in the title, is given in a footnote.

[3] Boston.

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BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY[1]

Purposes: "The study of the history of the town of Brookline, Massachusetts, its societies, organizations, families, individuals and events, the collection and preservation of its antiquities, the establishment and maintenance of an historical library and publication from time to time of such information relating to the same, as shall be deemed expedient."

Date of Charter: April 29, 1901.

ROXBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "1st to perpetuate the history of Roxbury and its military citizens and organizations. 2d. to encourage the volunteer militia. 3rd. To advocate measures and principles that will tend to strengthen the patriotism of the community."

Date of Charter: May 15, 1901.

OLD SOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY[3]

Purposes: "To promote the study of American history, as a means of culture in good citizenship."

Date of Charter: June 7, 1901.

MARBLEHEAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Collecting, studying and preserving historical matter relating to the town and its inhabitants, especially of the early settlement of the town, and of the persons whose lives have since made it famous, and the preservation of such relics of the past as shall assist in making clear the manners and customs of our ancestors."

Date of Charter: March 15, 1902.

THE MEDWAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Historical and antiquarian work and research, collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets and other articles of historical and antiquarian interest and other historical and antiquarian objects and purposes."

Date of Charter: April 29, 1902.

LOWELL HISTORICAL SOCIETY[4]

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving books, manuscripts, records and objects of antiquarian and historical interest; of encouraging the

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, iii. 244.

[2] Cf. Publications of this Society, i. 48 note.

[3] Boston. Cf. Publications of this Society, i. 62.

[4] Cf. Publications of this Society, i. 44–45.

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study of local history, of maintaining a library; and of publishing from time to time whatever may illustrate and perpetuate the history of Lowell and adjacent towns."

Date of Charter: May 21, 1902.

SHREWSBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "To preserve and promote interest in local historic matters, and to acquire and maintain a collection of historic articles."

Date of Charter: June 23, 1902.

THE HEATH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The preservation of the old Town House. The collection and safe keeping of any and all articles of historical interest connected with the town of Heath."

Date of Charter: August 18, 1902.

SWAMPSCOTT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "To study and record the history of the town of Swampscott, its institutions and families; to trace its connections with the larger life of the Commonwealth or the Nation; to perpetuate in suitable ways noteworthy events; and to collect and preserve documents or relics illustrative of this history."

Organized: September 10, 1902.

NEWTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The study of local history, the collection and preservation of antiquities, the establishment and maintenance of an historical library, and the publication from time to time of historical matter of value to the society."

Date of Charter: October 22, 1902.

THE AMHERST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The prosecution of education, antiquarian, historical, literary, artistic, patriotic, and monumental purposes, for establishing and maintaining a historical library, a place for storing said library, and for reading rooms and social meetings, and for such other purposes not inconsistent with law as may be reasonably incident and necessary to the promotion of such objects, the special purpose of the organization being to preserve the historical records of the town of Amherst, and to collect, hold, preserve and exhibit objects of historical value and interest in said town."

Date of Charter: May 28, 1903.

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OLD DARTMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY[1]

Purposes: "Creating and fostering an interest in the history of the territory included in Old Dartmouth, to wit, territory now included in the City of New Bedford, and the towns of Fairhaven, Acushnet, Dartmouth and Westport; of promoting historical research; of collecting documents and relics and providing for their proper custody."

Date of Charter: August 10, 1903.

THE SHARON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Prosecuting antiquarian and historical matters."

Date of Charter: September 11, 1903.

THE CLINTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Awakening and cultivating an interest in local history; of collecting and preserving works of art, with books, papers, documents and articles of artistic and historic value, of promoting the study of natural history, of gathering and preserving specimens connected therewith, of preserving a record of passing events; of procuring and caring for a safe repository for the same."

Date of Charter: October 13, 1903.

THE STOUGHTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Holding meetings to promote an interest in historical matters; the collection, accumulation and preservation of books, papers, records, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures and all such other relics, in the shape of mementos, souvenirs and keepsakes, as relate to the history of the town of Stoughton, State of Massachusetts."

Date of Charter: November 17, 1903.

THE FALMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Conducting historical research in connection with the town of Falmouth, Massachusetts, and the collection and preservation of its historical material, genealogical and otherwise."

Date of Charter: July 21, 1904.

MILTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Study of the history of the town of Milton, Massachusetts, its societies, organizations, families, individuals and events, the collection and preservation of articles of historic value, the establishment and maintenance of an historical library, and the publication from time to

[1] New Bedford.

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time of such information relating to the same as shall be deemed expedient."

Date of Charter: February 7, 1905.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same and generally of promoting interest and research in relation to the history of Cambridge, in said Commonwealth."

Date of Charter: June 24, 1905.

THE NORTHAMPTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The prosecution of educational, antiquarian, historical, literary, artistic, patriotic and monumental purposes, for establishing and maintaining a historical library, a place for storing said library, and for reading rooms and social meetings, and for such other purposes not inconsistent with law as may be reasonably incident and necessary to the promotion of such objects; the special purpose of the organization being to preserve the historical records of the City of Northampton, and to collect, hold, preserve and exhibit objects of historical value and interest in said city."

Date of Charter: November 6, 1905.

LINCOLN HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Purposes: "Promoting and providing for the keeping of family histories, and holding of family reunions, and the collection, compilation, and publication of such information as may be obtained, concerning the Lincoln families."

Date of Charter: July 25, 1906.

THE LEOMINSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The collection, preservation and study of historical matter appertaining to the town of Leominster and its inhabitants."

Date of Charter: February 13, 1907.

THE NORWOOD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The prosecution of historical and antiquarian work and research, the collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets and other articles of historical and antiquarian interest, the pub-

[1] Taunton.

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lication of periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets devoted to or treating of historical, antiquarian or kindred subjects."

Date of Charter: February 14, 1907.

THE SANDWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Historical research in connection with the town of Sandwich, Massachusetts, and the collection and preservation of its historical material."

Date of Charter: July 3, 1907.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

Purposes: "The prosecution of educational, antiquarian, historical, literary, artistic, patriotic and monumental purposes; for establishing and maintaining a historical library; a place for storing said library and for reading rooms and social meetings, and for such other purposes not inconsistent with law, as may be reasonably incident and necessary to the promotion of such objects, the special purpose of the organization being to preserve the historical records of the town of Greenfield, and to collect, hold, preserve and exhibit objects of historical value and interest in said town."

Date of Charter: July 8, 1907.

ASHLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "The prosecution of historical and antiquarian work and research; the collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and articles of historical and antiquarian interest.

"The publication of periodicals and pamphlets treating of historical or kindred subjects and other historical and antiquarian objects and purposes."

Date of Charter: May 29, 1909.

MENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY[1]

Purposes: "Encouraging and promoting historical and antiquarian research; for collecting and preserving ancient and modern documents, books, and papers, also for collecting articles of historical interest."

Date of Charter: November 4, 1909.

WESTERN HAMPDEN HISTORICAL SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "Antiquarian, historical and monumental purposes, and for the establishment and maintenance of reading rooms and libraries, relating to such purposes."

Date of Charter: November 23, 1909.

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, iii. 245.

[2] Westfield.

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THE TOPSFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY[1]

Purposes: "Collecting, preserving and studying all historical material relating to the town of Topsfield, and it also shall be the purpose of the corporation to encourage the study of natural history in its various branches."

Date of Charter: October 6, 1910.

THE ANDOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Cultivating and encouraging an interest in antiquarian and historical research; to collect and treasure significant historical matter and antiquarian relics and to found and maintain a museum, where such collection shall be preserved and exhibited, thus making a valuable, interesting, and educational feature in the life of Andover."

Date of Charter: May 9, 1911.

THE MARTHA'S VINEYARD CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION HISTORICAL SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving historical relics, letters, papers and facts, and promoting historical research especially relative to the Islands of Martha's Vineyard, and to hold real estate for these purposes."

Date of Charter: January 26, 1912.

THE NORTH ANDOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Acquiring and preserving places of historic interest and collecting and recording historical facts and traditions; establishing a collection of books, documents and articles of historical and antiquarian interest; and carrying on such research and other work as is usually engaged in by local historical societies."

Date of Charter: July 16, 1913.

THE SHERBORN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Studying the history of the town of Sherborn, and towns in its vicinity, and with especial reference to said history, preserving historic landmarks; locating, acquiring and preserving articles and data of historic interest; and seeking and perpetuating evidence relating to historic events."

Date of Charter: August 11, 1913.

THE MELROSE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Arousing interest in the study of the history of the city of Melrose, securing the preservation of its oldest buildings; collecting by

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, iii. 85.

[2] Edgartown.

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gift, loan or purchase, colonial books, pictures, furniture, dishes, etc.; providing suitable rooms for their preservation, and publishing from time to time such information relating to Melrose families, organizations, events, etc., as shall be deemed expedient."

Date of Charter: January 27, 1914.

THE HOLLISTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INCORPORATED

Purposes: "The study, collection, and preservation of historical records, traditions and relics relating to the history of Holliston and its people."

Date of Charter: March 31, 1914.

THE HINGHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving manuscripts, printed books, pamphlets, historical facts, biographical anecdotes and historical relics and stimulating research into local history."

Date of Charter: June 18, 1914.

THE BELCHERTOWN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Purposes: "Receiving either as gift or loans, articles of historical interest, such as memorials, books, pictures, documents, etc., of especial interest to the people of Belchertown and vicinity; Indian and war relics and curios, geological and natural history specimens, also articles of household use, and to provide and maintain a suitable place for their preservation and exhibition. Also to suitably mark in some permanent manner places of historic interest within the town, and to arrange for lectures on historical and kindred subjects."

Date of Charter: September 16, 1914.

THE NEEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INCORPORATED

Purposes: "The prosecution of historical and antiquarian work and research; the collection and preservation of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and other articles of historical and antiquarian interest, the publication of periodicals, tracts and pamphlets, devoted to or treating of historical, antiquarian or kindred subjects; and other historical and antiquarian objects and purposes."

Date of Charter: April 5, 1915.

THE WALTHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INCORPORATED

Purposes: "Stimulating and aiding research in the local and general history of Waltham, by collecting and preserving such manuscripts, documents, mementos, and relics as relate thereto, by collecting and preparing genealogies of Waltham families, by preparing or causing to be

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prepared from time to time, papers and records relating to these subjects, that are or may be of general interest, by aiding in the preservation, buildings, monuments and other objects of historic interest and by such other means as shall be deemed fitting."

Date of Charter: April 12, 1914.

II

QUASI-HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

EAST TEMPLETON VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY

Purposes: Added to the functions set forth in the title is that of preserving places of historic interest.

Date of Charter: February 19, 1901.

THE RUFUS PUTNAM MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Purposes: A memorial society having no other historical purposes than the preservation of the homestead of a distinguished general in the Continental Army.

Date of Charter: April 29, 1901.

UNITY CLUB OF NANTUCKET

Purposes: "The prosecution of Literary, Historical, Scientific, Artistic, and Musical purposes and studies."

Date of Charter: June 18, 1901.

BEMIS MEMORIAL PARK ASSOCIATION[2]

Purposes: "Antiquarian and Historical research."

Date of Charter: January 8, 1902.

THE LYNN REPUBLICAN CLUB

Purposes: "Literary and historical discussion, investigation and study."

Date of Charter: May 20, 1902.

GAYLORD MEMORIAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Purposes: "Establishing and maintaining a library building, museum, antiquarian and historical relics and collections in the town of South Hadley."

Date of Charter: June 12, 1902.

TURNVEREIN VORWARTS OF ADAMS

Purposes: "Educational, historical, literary and musical purposes, maintaining a library with manual training and athletics."

Date of Charter: October 27, 1902.

PARKER FAMILY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA[3]

Purposes: "Genealogical and Historical research, and the establishment and maintenance of Libraries and places for social meetings."

Date of Charter: November 8, 1902.

[1] Rutland. [2] Spencer. [3] Boston.

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WING FAMILY OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED[1]

Purposes: "Uniting the descendants of Deborah Wing and her ancestors socially; promoting antiquarian research among the members of the Wing Family, and for disseminating knowledge of the history of the family.'

Date of Charter: November 21, 1902.

THE SEA COAST DEFENSE CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION[2]

Purposes: "Preservation of ancient documents, books, and historic relics."

Date of Charter: February 17, 1903.

THE BAY STATE HISTORICAL LEAGUE[3]

Purposes: "(1) To encourage the formation of historical societies. (2) To encourage the existing historical societies in prosecution of historical study and dissemination of historical knowledge, in the institution and maintenance of historical memorials and anniversaries, the collection, preservation and publication of historical material, and to bring such societies into a closer relation with one another; and (3) otherwise to promote historical interests."

Organized: April 3, 1903.

FAIRBANKS FAMILY IN AMERICA[4]

Purposes: "Collection and preservation of all matters pertaining to the history of Fairbanks Family in America. The study of this material and the education of members in historical and antiquarian subjects relating to the family. The collection of Books, Pamphlets, Manuscripts and Articles referring to its history."

Date of Charter: April 17, 1903.

RAMAPOGUE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Purposes: "Acquiring and maintaining for the use of the public, the building and premises known as the Old Day Place in West Springfield, or any part thereof, or some other building or premises, for the reception, protection and exhibition of things of historic interest, and for other kindred charitable use, and as a place of meeting of association engaged in Charitable work."

Date of Charter: July 1, 1903.

THE NAUTICAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY[5]

Purposes: "The collection and preservation of Nautical Articles, Manuscripts, Log-books, Pictures and Library, and the preservation of the Pilot Boat Columbia and Scituate Light House if approved by the United States Government."

Date of Charter: October 13, 1903.

THE LOVEWELL'S FIGHT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION[6]

Purposes: A memorial association whose field of work includes historical research.

Date of Charter: June 9, 1904.

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[1] Boston. [2] Tisbury. [3] This society has no fixed location.
[4] Dedham. [5] Scituate. [6] Boston.

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MATTAPOISETT IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

Purposes: Include the encouragement of "the collection and preservation of local historical, antiquarian, photographic and literary material."
Date of Charter: September 12, 1904.

THE STATE OF MAINE CLUB[1]

Purposes: Include the preservation of antiquarian, historical, literary, and scientific research, only in connection with the State of Maine.
Date of Charter: May 3, 1905.

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND[2]

Purposes: "Historical and Genealogical research and publication."
Date of Charter: June 9, 1905.

THE VERMONT ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON[3]

Purposes: "Promoting social intercourse among its members, of perpetuating common memories, of celebrating events in the history of the State of Vermont, and establishing and maintaining a meeting place for its members, and a reading room and library connected therewith."
Date of Charter: June 12, 1905.

THE FRIDAY CLUB OF EVERETT

Purposes: "Educational, charitable and benevolent work, for the prosecution of historical, literary, scientific and artistic musical development for social, ethical and intellectual culture, for establishing and maintaining libraries and reading-rooms and for promoting economy and thrift among its members and associates."
Date of Charter: October 21, 1905.

STETSON KINDRED OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED[4]

Purposes: "Encouraging antiquarian, genealogical and historical researches, especially with reference to the times, the ancestors and the descendants of Robert Stetson, who settled at Scituate (now Norwell), Plymouth County, Massachusetts, about the year 1635, and there died on or about February 1, 1703."
Date of Charter: November 14, 1905.

ROYAL HOUSE ASSOCIATION[5]

Purposes: To preserve and keep open to the public the Royal House in Medford.
Date of Charter: January 29, 1906.

THE ALDEN KINDRED OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED[6]

Purposes: Include publications of an historical character.
Date of Charter: May 31, 1906.

[1] Boston. [2] Boston. [3] Boston.
[4] Boston. [5] Medford. [6] Boston.

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MOLLY VARNUM CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[1]

Purposes: Include "perpetuating the memory of the men and women who achieved American Independence; of acquiring and protecting historic spots; encouraging historical research, and the publication of its results; preserving documents and relics, and individual records of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots."
Date of Charter: September 28, 1906.

THE ROBINSON GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "Collection, compilation, and publication of such data and information as may be available concerning the Robinson and affiliated Families."
Date of Charter: December 21, 1906.

THE BRADFORD ACADEMY HISTORICAL SOCIETY[3]

Purposes: "Acquiring and preserving the land and buildings formerly owned and occupied by Bradford Academy."
Date of Charter: January 22, 1907.

PAUL REVERE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION[4]

Purposes: "Prosecution of antiquarian and historical purposes and especially as a memorial to the patriot Paul Revere, to the end that patriotism and philanthropy and civic virtue and pride, may be publicly fostered and the youth of this community may be educated in respect thereto."
Date of Charter: May 4, 1907.

WESTERN CLUB OF BOSTON

Purposes: "Establishing and maintaining a place for social meetings and for the prosecution of historical and literary purposes."
Date of Charter: August 30, 1907.

THE HYDE PARK CARNIVAL ASSOCIATION

Purposes: "Promoting the educational and historical interest of Hyde Park by proper public celebrations . . . and to publicly recognize by appropriate exercises, including general celebrations, historical events and anniversaries of our town."
Date of Charter: September 11, 1907.

MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[5]

Purposes: "Perpetuating the memory and spirit of the men who achieved American Independence, by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution, and the publication of its results, the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries."
Date of Charter: December 26, 1907.

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[1] Lowell. [2] Taunton. [3] Haverhill.
[4] Boston. [5] Boston.

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DEDHAM CARNIVAL ASSOCIATION

Purposes: "Encouragement and promotion of historical and antiquarian research and arranging and conducting proper public celebrations of National and State holidays, historical events and anniversaries."

Date of Charter: February 19, 1908.

THE OLD PLANTERS SOCIETY[1]

Purposes: "Enabling the descendants of the settlers of New England prior to June 12, 1630, to maintain an organization to perpetuate the memory of said early settlers and for historical, literary and other similar purposes."

Date of Charter: February 21, 1908.

THE OLD STOUGHTON MUSICAL SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "Preserving, cultivating and practising the music of the earlier native composers, and for general musical, and antiquarian purpose."

Date of Charter: February 25, 1908.

SUBMIT CLARK CORPORATION[3]

Purposes: "Prosecuting antiquarian, historical, literary, scientific, artistic and monumental purposes."

Date of Charter: April 17, 1908.

REBECCA NURSE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION[4]

Purposes: "The preservation of the Rebecca Nurse estate in Danvers; the collection and preservation of the literature relating to the history of demonology and witchcraft, and the early history of New England, particularly of 'Salem Village;' the promotion of the study of the psychological phenomena of witchcraft and for other literary and scientific objects."

Date of Charter: April 29, 1908.

RANDALL HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA[5]

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving data relating to the history, ancestry and genealogy of the several families of the name of Randall, from their immigrant ancestors, also to bring together in social relations the members of the different families."

Date of Charter: May 14, 1908.

THE WINTHROP IMPROVEMENT AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Purposes: Include the use of its income "for educational, historical, or memorial institutions as it may seem to said Association advisable."

Date of Charter: June 1, 1908.

THE FRAMINGHAM BOYS CLUB ASSOCIATION

Purposes: Among other things to encourage among boys "study in history, letters, government and kindred subjects."

Date of Charter: July 10, 1908.

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[1] Salem. [2] Stoughton. [3] Easthampton.
[4] Danvers. [5] Boston.

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THE GREEK-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Purposes: "Promoting the study of American History, and American Institutions among American citizens of Grecian birth, and to cultivate the social and intellectual development of its members."
Date of Charter: September 9, 1908.

OLD CONCORD CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[2]

Purposes: "Educating the public in patriotism; for the prosecution of antiquarian, historical, literary and monumental purposes."
Date of Charter: March 9, 1909.

THE MERRIMAC TOWN IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY

Purposes: "Furnishing a public park and play grounds, and a house for historical purposes, and the general improvement of the town."
Date of Charter: May 6, 1909.

BULLARD MEMORIAL FARM ASSOCIATION[3]

Purposes: Certain "educational, historical, and monumental purposes."
Date of Charter: May 10, 1909.

THE TOWER GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY[4]

Purposes: "Promoting antiquarian research among the members of the Tower family, collecting, compiling and publishing genealogical, biographical, and historical data, and disseminating knowledge of the Tower family."
Date of Charter: May 14, 1909.

CANDIA CLUB[5]

Purposes: "Gathering together in a social organization the loyal sons and daughters of Candia, . . . so as to secure concert of action and promote the general welfare of the town of Candia, New Hampshire, and for historical and benevolent purposes."
Date of Charter: May 19, 1909.

THE JOHN BEAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA[6]

Purposes: "Collecting, preserving and publishing genealogical facts or data, and otherwise perpetuating the history of the Bean (Beane) family, especially of the descendants of John Bean, who settled in Exeter, New Hampshire, A. D. 1660."
Date of Charter: August 17, 1909.

THE GIRLS PROGRESSIVE CLUB[7]

Purposes: "Diffusing among its members a general knowledge of Jewish History."
Date of Charter: November 5, 1909.

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[1] Lowell. [2] Concord. [3] Farm of Henry Bullard, Holliston.
[4] Boston. [5] Boston. [6] Boston.
[7] Fall River.

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WESTPORT PUBLIC LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Purposes: Include "taking up and prosecuting any antiquarian, historical, literary, scientific, artistic, or musical purpose or work."
Date of Charter: November 15, 1909.

THE GLOUCESTER DAY COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED

Purposes: Celebration of Gloucester Day and "the prosecution of historical and monumental purposes."
Date of Charter: December 7, 1909.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF BOSTON AND VICINITY

Purposes: "Furthering the welfare of societies, citizens and other persons of German birth or parentage, of fostering interest in the achievements of German-American citizens in country of their adoption, and in the language, literature and history of the country of their forefathers, or their own birth."
Date of Charter: December 28, 1909.

SOCIETY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT BARTLETT OF PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS[1]

Purposes: Perpetuating the memory of Robert Bartlett and "promoting historical, genealogical and antiquarian research, concerning the said Robert Bartlett, and his ancestors and descendants; of compiling and disseminating by publication or in any other manner, such knowledge."
Date of Charter: December 30, 1909.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF NEW ENGLAND ANTIQUITIES[2]

Purposes: Preservation of objects of historical interest.
Date of Charter: April 2, 1910.

DOM POLSKI TWEINIA KRULA WLADYSLAWA JAGIELLY CO[3]

Purposes: "Helping the members and their families in the study of the English language and for such literary and social purposes as may promote their social and moral welfare, for perfecting the members in the use of the English language by study of the history and institutions of the United States, to fit and encourage the members to become citizens of the United States, to provide a hall and meeting place for Polish people, and others for social, athletic and recreational purposes not inconsistent with law and order, and to hold real estate for the use and benefit of the corporation."
Date of Charter: June 22, 1910.

ATTLEBORO CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Purposes: "Perpetuating the memory of the men and women, who achieved American Independence, of acquiring and protecting historic spots, encouraging historical research, and the publication of its results, preserving documents and relics and individual records of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots."
Date of Charter: July 1, 1910.

[1] Plymouth. [2] Boston. [3] Chicopee.

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THE LINSEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA[1]

Purposes: "Doing any and all acts which may be for the benefit of, or promote the social, charitable, genealogical or antiquarian interests of the Linsey family, of America, however the name Linsey may be spelled."
Date of Charter: July 14, 1910.

WOODS HOLE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Purposes: Include the collection of objects of historical value.
Date of Charter: August 11, 1910.

THE JEWETT FAMILY OF AMERICA[2]

Purposes: "Preservation of historical and antiquarian matter relating to the family, the collection of books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, and articles referring to the history, and the publication, from time to time of historical articles."
Date of Charter: September 19, 1910.

THE WOMANS CLUB OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

Purposes: "Establishing a body of recognized authority to promote social service, scientific forestry, historical, literary, musical, and art education in Greenfield, Massachusetts, and whatever relates to the best interests of the town."
Date of Charter: August 7, 1911.

THE SOCIETY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF PILGRIM JOHN HOWLAND OF THE SHIP MAYFLOWER[3]

Purposes: Among other objects the preservation of historic monuments.
Date of Charter: September 13, 1911.

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA[4]

Purposes: "Conducting research into all matters relating to the Scots in America, to prepare records of the results of such research, and preserve them in the archives of the society. To distribute among the members authentic information concerning the achievements of men of Scottish ancestry in America."
Date of Charter: September 22, 1911.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION[5]

Purposes: "Advancing the study of history, government and economics, by the discussion and dissemination of ideas, and by the promotion of social relations among teachers of these subjects in the schools and colleges of New England."
Date of Charter: November 13, 1911.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY[6]

Purposes: "Establishing and maintaining a Gallery and Library of American history; to obtain for American schools valuable and much-needed material for

[1] Boston. [2] Rowley. [3] Plymouth.
[4] Boston. [5] Boston. [6] Boston.

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use in the teaching of the Nation's history; to create a zeal for research on the part of the student, especially in the field of the story of his home community and his State."

Date of Charter: December 28, 1911.

THE HEBREW INSTITUTE[1]

Purposes: "Establishing and maintaining a place of meeting for the propagation of Zionism as laid down by the International Zionist Congress, for spreading the knowledge of the Hebrew language, Jewish history and Jewish culture."

Date of Charter: April 20, 1912.

THE QUINCY FOURTH OF JULY ASSOCIATION

Purposes: Include the compilation of literature bearing on the history of the United States.

Date of Charter: June 13, 1912.

THE BATES ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED[2]

Purposes: Genealogical and memorial.

Date of Charter: June 25, 1910.

THE FERRY-FERRE, FERÉT FAMILY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION[3]

Purposes: "Collecting and preserving data relating to the history, ancestry and genealogy of the families of the name of Ferry-Ferre, Ferét, descended from Charles Ferre (Ferry) and Sarah Harmon, his wife, of Springfield."

Date of Charter: August 26, 1912.

THE AMERICAN FLAG LEAGUE[4]

Purposes: "To promote and encourage the study of American history by the people and by the children in our schools, and the dissemination of literature in reference to the men and events in our nation's history, and in an especial manner to promote a knowledge of our national flag, and what that flag stands for, liberty and obedience to law."

Date of Charter: December 30, 1912.

THE ROXBURY HEBREW FREE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION[5]

Purposes: "Of maintaining and conducting by voluntary contributions, a free school for the teaching and learning of Hebrew and the Hebrew religion and history."

Date of Charter: January 20, 1913.

THE ROGER CONANT FAMILY[6]

Purposes: "The collection and preservation of all matters pertaining to the history of the Conant family in America and England, and the study of its material, and the education of members in historical and antiquarian subjects relat-

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[1] Boston. [2] Boston. [3] Boston.
[4] Boston. [5] Boston. [6] Boston.

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ing to the family, the collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and articles referring and relating to its history."

Date of Charter: February 27, 1913.

THE LINCOLN GETTYSBURG MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Purposes: "Acquiring and disposing of, for historical purposes historic material, also representations of, and literature dealing with historic subjects or events, of providing for the dissemination of knowledge on historical subjects and events, and generally to do those things which tend to preserve historic memorials and to keep alive the memory of historic events."

Date of Charter: March 19, 1913.

THE HENRYK DABROWSKI SOCIETY[2]

Purposes: "Prosecuting a study and diffusion of historical" and other subjects.

Date of Charter: April 1, 1913.

THE GREEK-AMERICAN CLUB OF BOSTON[3]

Purposes: A social club which undertakes the promotion of the study of American history.

Date of Charter: August 11, 1913.

THE CARY HOUSE ASSOCIATION[4]

Purposes: Collection and preservation of articles of historic interest in the Bellingham-Cary House.

Date of Charter: January 20, 1914.

THE READE SOCIETY[5]

Purposes: Genealogical and memorial.

Date of Charter: February 24, 1914.

THE COLONEL TIMOTHY BIGELOW CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[6]

Purposes: The encouraging of historical research and the publication of its results.

Date of Charter: May 1, 1914.

THE PAGEANT OF CAPE COD[7]

Purposes: "Promoting an interest in historical, educational, social and scientific subjects."[8]

Date of Charter: May 23, 1914.

THE OLD ESSEX CHAPTER, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, INCORPORATED[9]

Purposes: "Historical research in matters pertaining to the Revolutionary Period; aiding in the preservation of historical relics and documents, and the

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[1] Boston.
[2] New Bedford.
[3] Boston.
[4] Chelsea.
[5] Boston.
[6] Worcester.
[7] Sandwich.
[8] Expired October 1, 1914.
[9] Salem.

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records of individual services rendered by Revolutionary soldiers, seamen and patriots, promoting the celebration of all patriotic anniversaries; cherishing, maintaining, and extending the institutions of American freedom and fostering true patriotism and love of country."

Date of Charter: December 4, 1914.

THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF KITTERY, INCORPORATED[1]

Purposes: Perpetuation of the history of Kittery.

Date of Charter: February 2, 1915.

THE PAGEANT OF LEXINGTON, INCORPORATED

Purposes: Include the promotion of interest in local history.[2]

Date of Charter: April 10, 1915.

THE SOMERVILLE PAGEANT ASSOCIATION

Purposes: "Civic and historical," and the production of pageants.

Date of Charter: June 25, 1915.

THE JOHN WHITE ASSOCIATION[3]

Purposes: "Historical research and the collection and preservation of all records, books, manuscripts, or other articles, or material pertaining or having a historical or antiquarian value to the White family."

Date of Charter: July 3, 1915.

THE SHEDD FAMILY OF AMERICA[4]

Purposes: "Historical research and the collection and preservation of all records, books, manuscripts, and other articles, or material pertaining or having a historical or antiquarian value to the Shedd family."

Date of Charter: August 23, 1915.

THE MARATHON SOCIAL AND LITERARY ASSOCIATION[5]

Purposes: "Promoting Greek social, literary and historical activities."

Date of Charter: October 6, 1915.

THE LADIES AUXILIARY OF GLOUCESTER DAY COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED

Purposes: Include the prosecution of "historical, literary and monumental purposes."

Date of Charter: December 31, 1915.

The following paper was communicated by Mr. CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM at the March meeting:

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[1] Boston. [2] Expired December 31, 1915. [3] Boston.
[4] Billerica. [5] Worcester.

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HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY DUPLICATES, 1682

In the manuscript collections of the American Antiquarian Society is a list of duplicates, obtained by Cotton Mather from the Harvard College Library in 1682, which is interesting in that it is one of the few records existing of the titles of books in the College Library of the seventeenth century. The Catalogue of the Library printed in 1723 records the books which the college owned at that time, but because of the fire of 1764, which destroyed the entire library, as well as the earliest donation books, there is no way of telling what books the library possessed previous to that time.

Of the 96 titles, 81 were theological, and the remainder comprised history, philosophy, and philology, including the works of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Xenophon, Horace, and a volume of Plutarch's Lives. If there was not more science or literature in this group it was due to the literary tendencies of the times, rather than to Cotton Mather's selection. Mather was a student of subjects other than theological. He admitted that he "feasted" himself "with the sweets of all sciences, which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to." He says: "I am able with little study to write in seven languages. I am entertained with all kinds of histories ancient and modern. I am no stranger to the curiosities which by all sorts of learning, are brought to the curious." Again in his Diary, under date of 1706, he says, "Seldome any new Book of Consequence finds the way from beyond-Sea, to these parts of America, but I bestow the Perusal upon it."

This must have been almost the beginning of Cotton Mather's library, for he was at this time but nineteen years of age, having been born in 1663. He had been graduated from Harvard in 1678 and took his second degree in 1681. From the time of his graduation until the time of his ordination as pastor of the North Church in 1685, he was assisting his father as preacher at the same church. His Diary for 1682 is missing; so there is no record of this acquisition to his library. In the Diary for 1683, however, under date of April 16, he records: "Lett mee carefully read some excellent books, which my Saviour, in his infinite Faithfulness has bestowed upon mee."

The Harvard College Library was not a large one in 1682, probably not as large as that eventually owned by Cotton Mather himself. In 1723, when the Catalogue was printed, it amounted to about

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3200 volumes; and in 1764, at the time of the fire, it totaled about 5000 volumes. Cotton Mather's own library must have totaled about 4000 volumes at the time of his death. On October 16, 1700, he records in his Diary that, after receiving about 40 books which had belonged to President Chauncy, his library amounted to between 2000 and 3000 books. And again under date of November 21, 1702, he records in his Diary: "My Study, is tho' a large, yett a warm chamber, the hangings whereof, are Boxes with between two and three thousand Books in them." It was Cotton Mather to whom John Dunton referred when he said "Mr. Mather's Library is the Glory of New-England, if not of all America." [1]

The vote regarding the sale of the library duplicates is recorded in College Book, i. 84, where it is entered without date and placed between entries of May 4, 1682, and January 10, 1683 (the vote is also repeated in College Book, iii. 78). The wording of this vote, given to me through the kindness of Mr. Albert Matthews, is as follows: "At a Corporation meeting, Ordered, that the double books in the Colledge Library be prized and sold, and the money improved for the buying other books that are wanting."

In the Diary of Noadiah Russell, then a resident graduate at Harvard College, under date of 1682, he records:

Aug. 31. The Corporation meeting at Boston desired yt I would take a catalogue of ye books in ye College Library and to take out ye double books.

Sept. 4. I began to pick out ye double books.

Sept. 12. The Corporation met at ye College to prise ye double books.

Oct. 19. I finisht taking out ye double books on which day ye Corporation met to prise ye rest of ye double books at which time I took up several books in ye library.[2]

The probable reason for the disposal of the library duplicates at this time was the gift from Sir John Maynard of eight chests of books valued at £400. This gift, as entered in Donation Book, i. 19, is recorded as follows: "1682. Sir John Maynard, Serjeant at Law, gave eight chests of books, valued at £400." [3] This was one of the largest gifts of books that the Library had received, and must have

[1] Letters from New England (Prince Society), p. 75.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 57.

[3] Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 513.

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Books bought of ye College Library
p C Mather

In Folio.

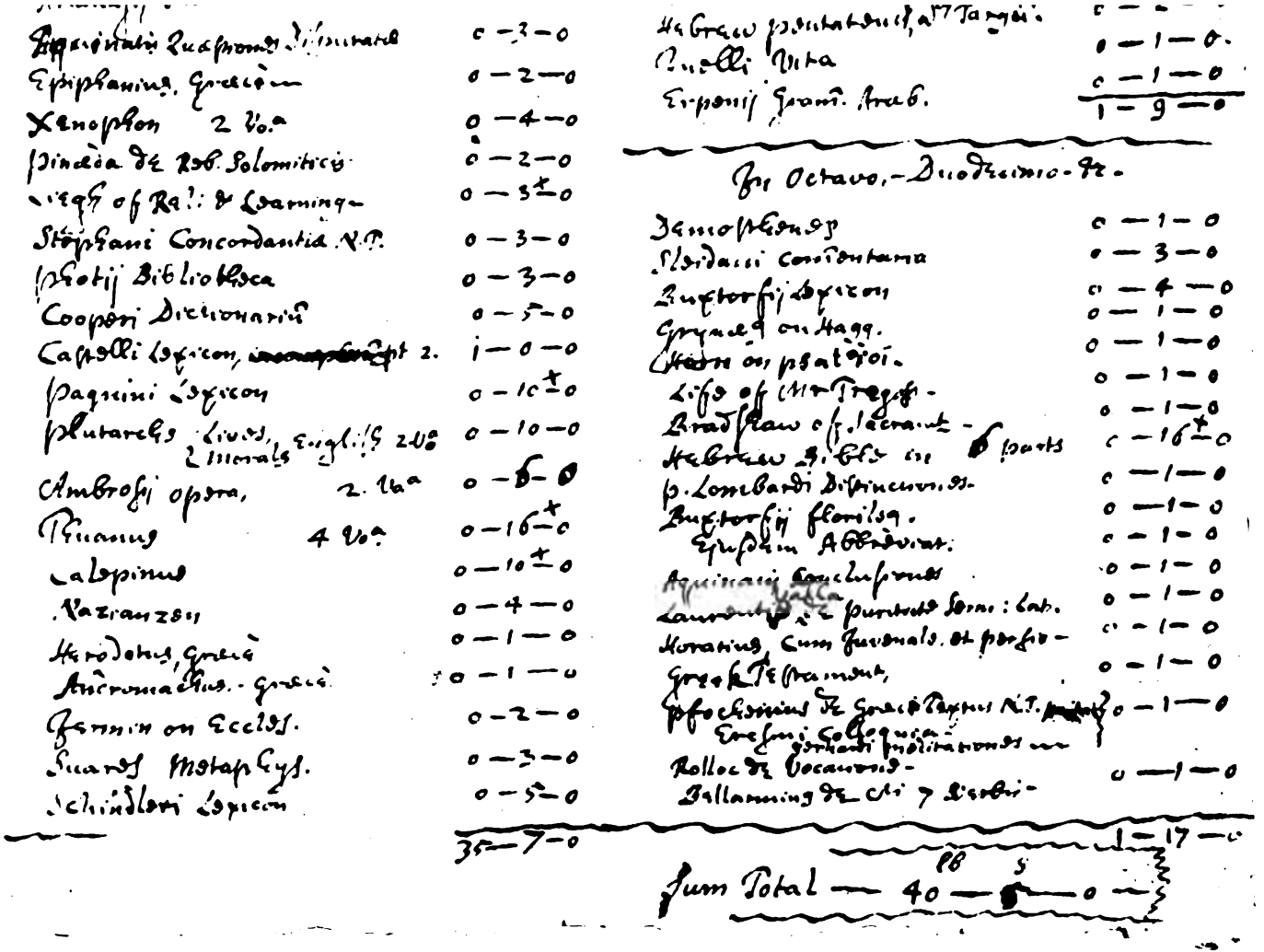
Biblia polyglotta	6 Vol.	7—0—0
Augustini opera	5 Vol.	4—0—0
Cornelii à Lapide opa.	8 Vol.	2—10—0
[illegible] Casus Conscientiae		0—7—0
Perkins Works	3 Vol.	0—[illegible]—0
Paraei Commentaria	2 Vol.	1—0—0
Gerhardi loci communes	4 Vol.	1—5—0
Wilcox in psalm &c		0—5—0
Dionysii Areopagitae opa.		0—8—0
Davenantij Determinationes		0—3—0
Bradwardin de causa Dei		0—10—0
Aristotelis Tomus 2dus		0—6—0
Burgess of Original sin		0—6—0
~~[illegible]~~		~~[illegible]~~
Lyranus	6 Vol.	1—5—0
Chrysostomi opera	8 Vol.	2—0—0
Lutheri opera	7 Vol.	2—0—0
Sanctij opera	7 Vol.	2—5—0
Zuingerj Theatrum	4 Vol.	1—0—0
Aquinas in Arist.	2 Vol.	0—6—0
Aquinatis Summa		0—10—0
Maldonj opera	2 Vol.	0—10—0
[illegible] in Aquin.		0—3—0

Irenaeus	0—5—0
Clemens Alexandrinus	0—5—0
Cyrilli Catecheses cum Synesij epis.	0—5—0
Duns Scotus	0—6—0
Franciscus pico Mirandula.	0—8—0
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
[illegible] Armagh	0—3—0
	1—[illegible]—0
	12

In Quarto

Burroughs Irenicum	0—2—0
Burroughs Contentment	0—1—0
Gunters Works	0—2—0
Usher answ. to Jesuit	0—2—0
[illegible] prophetiae incompletae	0—1—0
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
	0—3—0
Smiths Sermons	
Grasserus in Apocalypsin	0—1—0
Rutherfords Influences	0—1—0
Gassendi Astronomica Institut.	0—3—0
Rainolds on psal. 110.	0—2—0
[illegible] 2 Vol.	0—5—0
[illegible]	0—1—0

Folio's 12
Quartos 20
octavos &c 28



LIST OF BOOKS BOUGHT OF HARVARD COLLEGE BY COTTON MATHER. 1682

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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In folio

Castelli Lexicon—pt. 1.	0 — 10 — 0
Stephani Thesaurus in 3 Vol.	1 — 10 — 0
Fr. Longus de Concil. Histor.	0 — 5 — 0
Oecumenius, wth Arethas, in 2 vol.	0 — 4 — 0
Marlorat on [illegible]saias	0 — 4 — 0
Chemnitij [illegible]monia	0 — 10 — 0
Hilarius	0 — 2 — 0
[illegible]rringa, 2 vol.	0 — 4 — 0

In Quarto —

Rutherford De providentia —	0 — 2 — 0
Vedeling De Arcan Armin.	0 — 1 — 0
Cole of Gods Soveraignty	0 — 2 — 0
	3 — 14 — 0

	lb
Sum Totall	43 — 19 — 0

present:
Sanctis in Cantic. 4 0 —
It in Act: 4 —

Of this

I paid, on 26th 10ber 1682.	12 — 0 — 0
I paid afterwards, another	12 — 0 — 0
I paid Mr Browning for Rufus coms for ye colledge, on 4d. 10ber 1684.	4 — 0 — 0
Afterwards ye whole account was ballanced, by paying of,	16 — 0 — 0

caused the duplication of many titles. One of the titles recorded in Cotton Mather's list is "Davenantii Determinationes," valued at three shillings. The Cambridge 1634 edition is now in the American Antiquarian Society Library, and has the autograph of Cotton Mather, and also that of Sir John Maynard. There was an evident attempt to obliterate any marks of Harvard ownership, since Maynard's name, which is written in two places, is heavily crossed out with ink, and there is a large piece torn out of the title-page containing manuscript entries. Another book in the Antiquarian Society's collection, Volume I of Johann Gerhard's Loci Theologici, evidently obtained by Mather from the Harvard duplicates, has the marks of previous ownership on the fly-leaf carefully obliterated with a pen, although the name of "Harvard" can plainly be made out underneath.

In the list which follows, the attempt has been made to identify all the titles obtained by Mather. This task has been rendered less difficult by the existence of the 1723 Catalogue of the Harvard Library, which would be supposed to contain the titles of all the books owned by the Library in 1682. Most of the titles have been further identified by the British Museum Catalogue or other bibliographical reference books. In the library of the American Antiquarian Society is a manuscript "Copy of an Original Catalogue of Dr. Mather's Library," upon which Isaiah Thomas has written that it was Dr. Cotton Mather's library, "afterward the property of his son the Rev. Samuel Mather." This could have been but a small part of Cotton Mather's library, as the list contains but 668 titles. A comprehensive account of the Libraries of the Mathers, written by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, is to be found in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1910.[1]

BOOKS BOUGHT OF YE COLLEDGE LIBRARY, p C. MATHER

In Folio

Biblia Polyglotta, 6 vo[s]

The 1723 Catalogue lists a 6 volume edition, London, 1655. In the Boston Public Library is a 6 volume edition, London, 1657, formerly owned by

[1] Mather's list has the following indorsement, not reproduced in the facsimile:

Catalogue of Books
bought by D[r] Cotton
Mather of Harvard
College.
22.
Presented by Mrs. Crocker.

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Thomas Prince, who states that this set had been purchased from Dr. Cotton Mather "who had a Duplicate of them."

Augustini opera, 5 vo^{s}

Saint Augustine's works are listed in the 1723 Catalogue in 11 volumes, Paris, 1635–37. The early editions of his works were mostly in 10 volumes.

Cornelij à Lapide opa. 8 vo^{s}

The Comment. in Pentateuchum and Comment. in Prophetas Majores, by Cornelius à Lapide, 10 vols., 1622–49, are listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Sayri Casus Conscientiæ

Gregorius Sayrus, Casuum Conscientiæ Thesaurus, Venice, 1609, is probably meant.

Perkins Works. 3 vo^{s}

William Perkins's Works were published in several early three volume editions. The 1723 Catalogue lists vols. 1–2, London, 1631, and vol. 3, Cambridge, 1690.

Parej Comentaria. 2 vo^{s}

David Pareus, Operum Theologicorum Exegiticorum, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue, vols. 1–2, 1628, and vols. 3–4, 1650. There was an edition, entitled "D. Parei . . . in S. Mathei Evangelium Commentarius," published in 1631.

Gerhardi Loci cōmunes 4 vo^{s}

Johann Gerhard, Loci Theologici, Geneva, 1639. In the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society is this edition, 4 vols., inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683–4."

Wilcox in Psalm &c

Thomas Wilcox, On the Psalms, London, 1624, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue. The correct title is "Works of . . . T. W. . . . containing an Exposition upon . . . Psalmes," etc., London, 1624.

Dionysij Areopagitæ opa.

Dionysius Areopagita, Opera, 1615, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue. There are several other early editions.

Davenantij Determinationes

John Davenant, Determinationes, Cambridge, 1634. This identical volume is in the American Antiquarian Society Library, inscribed "C. Mather," and with the name of "Sr John Maynard" nearly obliterated with a pen.

Bradwardin de Causâ Dei

Thomas Bradwardine, De Causa Dei, London, 1618, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Aristotelis Tomus 2^{dus}

Aristotle's Works were published in numerous early editions. In the 1723 Catalogue is listed his Opera omnia, 2 vols., 1629.

Burgess of Original Sin

Anthony Burgess, The Doctrine of Original Sin, London, 1659.

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Lyranus 6 vo[s]

Lyranus, Opera, 1617, 6 vols., with an appendix volume, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Chrysostomi opera, 8 vo[s]

John Chrysostom, Opera Græce, Eton, 1613, 8 vols.

Lutheri opera, 7 vo[s]

Martin Luther, Opera, Wittenberg, 1552–1580, 7 vols.

Sanctij opera, 7 vo[s]

Gasparus Sanctius, various Commentaries on the books of the Old Testament.

Zuingerj Theatrū. 4 vo[s]

Theodor Zwinger, Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ, Basle, 1604.

Aquinas in Arist. 2 vo[s]

Thomas Aquinas, one of the early editions of his Commentaries on Aristotle.

Aquinatis Summa

Thomas Aquinas, one of the early editions of his Summa Theologica. The 1614 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Malderj opera, 2 vo[s]

Joannes Malderus, De Virtutibus Theologicis Comment. in 2dam 2dae Thomæ, Antwerp., 1616, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Bannes in Aquin.

Dominicus Bannes, Scholastica Commentaria in primam partem D. Thomæ, of which the 1614 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Athanasij opera. 2 vo[s]

Saint Athanasius, Opera, Paris, 1627, 2 vols., is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Aquinatis Quæstiones Disputatæ

Thomas Aquinas, either his Quæstiones de Potentia Dei Disputatæ, or his Quæstiones de Veritate Disputatæ.

Epiphanius, Græcà

Saint Epiphanius, one of his various works in Greek. The 1723 Catalogue contains his Contra Octoginta Hæreses, Basil., 1543.

Xenophon, 2 vo[s]

There are several early two volume folio editions of Xenophon's works.

Pineda de Reb. Solomiticis

Joannes de Pineda, De Rebus Solomonis Regis. The 1609 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Liegh of Rel: & Learning.

Edward Leigh, Treatise of Religion and Learning, London, 1659.

Stephani Concordantiæ N. T.

There were several editions of the Concordantiæ Testamenti Novi Græcolatinæ, compiled by both Robert and Henri Estienne, or Stephanus.

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Photij Bibliotheca

Photius, Bibliotheca Gr. cum notis, 1653, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Cooperi Dictionariū

Thomas Cooper, Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ . . . Dictionarium historicum et poeticum, several early folio editions.

Castelli Lexicon, pt. 2.

Edmund Castell, Lexicon Pentaglotton, 2 vols., 1669, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Pagnini Lexicon

Sanctus Pagninus, Index Dictionum Latinarum, sive Lexicon Latino-Hebraicum, Antwerp, 1616.

Plutarchs { Lives, / Morals English, 2 vo^s^

There are several early editions of Plutarch's Lives and of his Morals in English. In the 1723 Catalogue are listed his Lives, London, 1595, and his Morals, London, 1603.

Ambrosij opera, 2 vo^s^

There are many early editions of the works of Saint Ambrose in two volumes, folio.

Thuanus, 4 vo^s^

Thuanus, Historia sui Temporis, 5 vols., Geneva, 1620. The Mather manuscript catalogue lists vols. 1, 2, 4 and 5 of this set.

Calepinus

There are numerous early editions of the Dictionarium of Ambrosius Calepinus. The 1723 Catalogue lists Dictionarium cum Cornucop., Paris, 1510, and Dictionarium undecim Linguarum, Basil., 1627.

Nazianzen

There are several early editions of the works of Gregory Nazianzen. The 1723 Catalogue lists his Opera, 2 vols., Paris, 1630.

Herodotus, Græcà

There are numerous early editions of the works of Herodotus in Greek.

Andromachus, Græcà

Possibly De Theriaca in Andromachi carmen Græcum, 1607.

Jermin on Eccles.

Michael Jermin, Commentary upon Ecclesiastes, London, 1639. This volume, inscribed "Matheri," is in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society.

Suares Metaphys.

Franciscus Suarez, Disputationes Metaphysicæ. The 1630 edition, 2 vols., is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Schindleri Lexicon

Valentine Schindler, Lexicon Pentaglotton, of which the 1612 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

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Irenæus

Saint Irenæus, Adversus Hæreses Libri Quinque, of which the 1570 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Clemens Alexandrinus

Clemens Alexandrinus, Opera, of which the 1616 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Cyrilli Catechesii cum Synesij epis.

Saint Cyrillus and Bishop Synesius, perhaps the following title: Cyrilli Catechesii et Synesii Episcopi Opera, 1631.

Duns Scotus

There are many early folio editions of works by Joannes Duns Scotus. In the 1723 Catalogue are listed his Sententiarum Quæstiones Subtilissimæ, 1620, and Quæstiones Quodlibetates Familiarissime Reportatæ, 1529.

Franciscus Picus Mirandula, 2 vo^{s}

There are several early two volume editions of works by Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandula. His Opera Omnia, Basil., 1601, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Arriaga

Rodericus de Arriaga, Cursus Philosophicus, of which the 1637 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

In Quarto

Burroughs Irenicum

Jeremiah Burroughs, Irenicum, of which the 1653 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Burroughs Contentmt

Jeremiah Burroughs, Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment, of which the 1650 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Gunters Works

Edmund Gunter, Works, of which the 1673 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Ushers Answ̄ to Jesuit

James Usher, Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit. The 1723 Catalogue lists the 1631 edition, and in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society is the 1625 edition, inscribed "Matheri."

Ames fresh Suit, incomplete

William Ames, Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies, 1633. This work is in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society, and is inscribed "S. Mather's 1750."

Smiths Sermons

Probably Henry Smith's Sermons, several editions of which were published in the seventeenth century.

Graserus in Apocalypsin

Conrad Graserus, Comment. in Apocalyps., Tiguri., 1600, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

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Rutherfords Influences

Samuel Rutherford, Influences of the Life of Grace. The 1655 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue, and the 1659 edition is in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society.

Gassendi Astronomicæ Instit:

Peter Gassendi, Institutio Astronomica, was published in several early editions. The copy in the 1723 Catalogue is listed as wanting title.

Rainolds on psal. 110

Edward Reynolds, Explication of the CX. Psalm, was published in several early editions.

Glassij Philologia Sacr. 2 voª

Salomon Glass, Philologia Sacra, of which a five volume edition, Jenæ, 1645–1651, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Ejusdem Christologia

Salomon Glass, Christologia Mosaica, Jenæ, 1649, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Quench-coal

"A Quench-Coale. Or A breife Disquisition in what place the Lords-Table ought to be situated . . . By a well-wisher to the truth of God . . . Printed in the yeare 1637." This volume, by William Prynne, is entered in the 1723 Catalogue only under the title.

Hebrew Pentateuch, wth Targū

There are many early editions of the Pentateuch, with the Targum.

Juelli Vita

Laurence Humfrey, Vita et Mors Joan. Juelli, London, 1673, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue, probably a misprint for the 1573 edition, a copy of which is in the Mather Collection in American Antiquarian Society.

Erpenij Gram. Arab.

Thomas Erpenius, Grammatica Arabica, of which the 1656 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

In Octavo, Duodecimo, &c.

Demosthenes

There are many early editions of Demosthenes, although the 1723 Catalogue contains only a folio 1532 edition of the Orationes.

Sleidani Comentaria

Joannes Sleidanus, De Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ, Commentarii, of which an Argentoratum undated edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Buxtorfij Lexicon

Joannes Buxtorfius, Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, of which the Basel, 1655, edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Grynæus on Hagg.

Joannes Jacob Grynæus, Haggæus Propheta, Genevæ, 1581, with English translation, London, 1586.

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Horn on psal. 101

This title evades identification. The only title by Georg Hornius in the 1723 Catalogue is his Historia Philosophica, 1655, and that is a quarto.

Life of Mr. Tregoss

The Life and Death of Thomas Tregosse, London, 1671.

Bradshaw of Sacramt.

William Bradshaw, Of Preparation for the Lord's Supper, London, 1643, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Hebrew Bible in 6 parts.

The only octavo or duodecimo editions of the Hebrew Bible listed in the 1723 Catalogue are the 13 volume edition, Paris, 1542, and the three volume edition, Lugd. Bat., no date.

P. Lombardi Distinctiones

Petrus Lombardius, Textus Magistri Sententiarum . . . Omnium Distinctionum. It is listed in the 1723 Catalogue as Sententiarum Lib. 4, edition of 1609.

Buxtorfij florileg.

Joannes Buxtorfius, Florilegium Hebraicum, Basiliæ, 1648.

Ejusdem Abbreviat:

Joannes Buxtorfius, De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis Liber, of which the 1723 Catalogue lists the second edition, Basiliæ, 1640.

Aquinatis Conclusiones

Thomas Aquinas, Totius Summæ Conclusiones, Lugduni., 1613.

Laurentius Valla de Puritate Serm. Lat.

Probably one of the editions of Laurentius Valla, Elegantiæ Sermonis Latini, of which the 1545 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Horatius, cum Juvenale, et Persio

Probably the Poems of Horace, together with the Satires of Juvenal and of Persius. There is no edition listed, however, which is devoted to the works of the three authors.

Greek Testament

The only Greek Testament of octavo size listed in the 1723 Catalogue is an edition without place or date entered as Testamentum Novum Græcum cui accessit Liturgia Eccles. Anglicanæ.

Pfochenius de Græc. Textus N. T. puritate

Sebastianus Pfochenius, Diatribe de Linguæ Græcæ Nov. Test. Puritate, of which the 1633 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Erasmi Colloquia

There are many early editions of the Colloquia of Desiderius Erasmus, but none is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Gerhardi Meditationes

Johann Gerhard, Meditationes Sacræ, was published in several early editions.

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Rolloc de Vocatione

Robert Rollock, Tractatus de Vocatione, 1618.

Bellarminus de C^ti 7 Verbis

Robertus Bellarminus, De Septem Verbis a Christi in Cruce, of which Liber 2 of the 1626 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

In Folio

Castelli Lexicon, pt. 1

Edmund Castell, Lexicon Pentaglotton, 2 vols., 1669, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue. Part 1 of the work is entered above in this list of Harvard duplicates.

Stephani Thesaurus in 3 vol.

Henricus Stephanus, Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ, 1572.

Fr. Longus de Concil. Histor.

The only entry in the 1723 Catalogue which seems to fit this abbreviated title is Stephanus Longus a Coriolano, Summa Conciliorum omnium, 1623.

Oecumenius, wth Arethas, in 2 vol.

Oecumenius, Commentaria, quibus accesserunt Arethæ Explanationes, 1630–31, 2 vols.

Marlorat on Isaiah

Augustin Marlorat, whose Expositio Ecclesiastica in Genes., Psalm. & Isaiam, 1562, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Chemnitij Harmonia

Martin Chemnitius, Harmonia Evangelica, of which the 1641 edition is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Hilarius

Bishop Hilarius, whose Lucubrationes quotquot extant, 1580, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Arriaga, 2 vol.

Rodericus de Arriaga, Disputationes Theologicæ, of which several two volume editions are listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

In Quarto

Rutherford de ꝑvidentiâ

Samuel Rutherford, Disputat. Scholast. de Divina Providentia, Edinburg., 1650, is listed in the 1723 Catalogue.

Vedelius de Arcan. Armin.

Nicolaus Vedelius, Arcanorum Arminianismi pars secunda, 1633. This volume is in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society, and is inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683."

Cole of Gods Soveraignty

Elisha Coles, Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty, London, 1673.

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In the above list, the value affixed to each volume has not been printed, but may be found in the photographic facsimile. The sum total of the lot was £43–19–0. Below the sum total, Cotton Mather made the following entries:

Præterit:
Sanctius in Cantic. 4°
It in A^{ct}: 4°

Of this
I paid, on 26^{d} 10^{m} 1682. 12–0–0
I paid afterwards, another 12–0–0
I paid Mr Browning, for Books
Come for ye Colledge, on
5^{d} 10^{m} 1684 4–0–0
Afterwards, ye whole account
was ballanced, by
paying of 16–0–0

NOTE [1]

Since the paper on Early Interest in Dighton Rock went to press, I have turned my attention again to the puzzle of Cotton Mather's "second line." I am now convinced that my previous "bold and most uncertain guess as to what portions of the rock are meant to be represented by the different parts of the drawing" was mistaken. The simple truth is that Mather published this part of his drawing upside-down. Invert it, redraw its lines as narrow as they are made in other cases, and it will be seen clearly to resemble throughout the drawings by other persons at least as much as many of these resemble one another; and nearly as much as his reproduction of Danforth in his "first line" resembles its original. It is evident that this second line stops just short of, and hence does not include, the two apparently human figures at the extreme right end of the rock. It still remains true that Mather was mistaken in believing that there were several lines more on the rock below this one. His reputation as a draughtsman will not be enhanced by this discovery, for the shapes, proportions and relative positions of lines and figures are badly distorted, as to a lesser extent they are in all the other free-hand copies. On the other hand, it is a satisfaction to be able at last to free him from the charge, hitherto not without seeming justification, of having consciously or unconsciously imposed upon the learned members of the Royal Society by putting forth a pure creation of his own imagination as the genuine lineaments of the mysterious rock. He lacked the scientific sense that should have led him to verify his drawing before sending it out. But he sent it in good faith, and there can be no further uncertainty as to the fact that it was actually made, by some unskilled hand, from the rock itself.

E. B. Delabarre.

[1] See p. 262, line 10, above.

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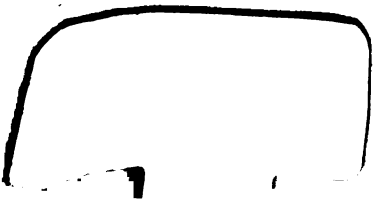

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